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ABSTRACT

Testimony was presented at these hearings by the following witnesses: Ronald Edmonds, assistant superintendent, School and Community Affairs, Michigan Department of Education; Dr. Daniel H. Kruger, professor, School of Labor and Industrial Relations, Michigan State University; Robert McKerr, associate superintendent, Business and Finance, Michigan Department of Education; Mrs. Jane Tate, member at large, Michigan Association of Parents and Teachers; Dr. Philip Kearney, associate superintendent, Research and School Administration, Michigan Department of Education; Dr. Lawrence F. Read, superintendent, Jackson City Public Schools, Jackson, Michigan; and, John Ort, president, Michigan Education Association, accompanied by Herman Coleman, assoicate executive secretary for Minority Affairs. (JM)

EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY—1971

ED 059319

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

SELECT COMMITTEE ON
EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY
UNITED STATES SENATE

OF THE

NINETY-SECOND CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON

EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

PART 19A—EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY IN MICHIGAN

WASHINGTON, D.C. — OCTOBER 26; NOVEMBER 1, 2, 1971

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Part 19B—Hearing of September 29, 1971 (partial)
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EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY IN MICHIGAN

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 26, 1971

U.S. SENATE
SELECT COMMITTEE ON
EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY
Washington, D.C.

The Select Committee met at 10 a.m., pursuant to call, in room 1318, of the New Senate Office Building, the Honorable Walter F. Mondale, chairman of the committee, presiding.

Present: Senators Mondale and Hart.

Staff members present: William C. Smith, staff director and general counsel; Donn Mitchell, professional staff; Donald Harris, professional staff; William Hennigan, minority counsel; and Leonard Strickman, minority counsel.

Senator MONDALE. The hearing will come to order. The hearings commence this morning with a series of witnesses on the Michigan schools. Dr. Kruger, I understand is not here yet, and we will call as our first witness Ronald Edmonds, assistant superintendent for school and community affairs, Michigan Department of Education. Mr. Edmonds.

STATEMENT OF RONALD EDMONDS, ASSISTANT SUPERINTENDENT, SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY AFFAIRS, MICHIGAN DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

Mr. EDMONDS. Would you like me to proceed?

Senator MONDALE. Yes, I have your statement. You may proceed by reading it in full, or however else you wish to proceed.

Mr. EDMONDS. Thank you. I don't intend to read it. I just want to briefly summarize the outstanding points.

Senator MONDALE. What I will do then is include the full statement in the record* as though read and you will emphasize those parts you wish.

Mr. EDMONDS. The statement that I have submitted consists of three parts. The first part is a brief description of certain important events in the last decade of public instruction in Michigan, concentrating on the effect of those events on the nature of decisionmaking in educational affairs in Michigan.

The second part is a description of accountability as it is being articulated and implemented by the Michigan State Department of Education, and finally, there is some discussion of the discrepancies

*See prepared statement, p. 9396.

between certain program of the U.S. Office of Education and the Michigan Department of Education.

Senator MONDALE. Is Michigan one of the States included in that list of rebates under Title I?

Mr. EDMONDS. We are.

Senator MONDALE. Congratulations.

INCREASE IN EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITY

Mr. EDMONDS. The events that I'd like to concentrate on are few in number, and only intended to illustrate certain trends. From a statistical point of view, Michigan is no different than the other large States of its kind, that is to say, over the last 10 years all the measures of educational activity and expense, participation both by students and professional personnel, and increase in facilities construction for educational purposes and their utilization, and there is a further indication that a greater and greater proportion of the State's resources are being invested in institutions of public instruction, and finally, and perhaps most importantly, more and more Michigan citizens are receiving more and better education that responds to their needs, and in many instances responds to their needs as they articulate them for themselves.

Despite the ability to provide you with dramatic statistical evidence of the success of public instruction in Michigan, nonetheless we are again no different than other States in that there is considerable dissatisfaction both among professional personnel, among students, and among Michigan citizens, in my judgment the reason being that Michigan has progressed to the extent that the educational expectations in Michigan are rather greater than our educational progress, despite the fact that we have made considerable of the latter.

Turning then to the history of the decade in public instructions, there are a few illustrative events that will make my point. When the decade of the 1960's began, the Michigan State Department of Education was an essentially subservient institution, in that it defined its role essentially in response to what local educators and members of the local education communities had to say about what they needed.

The nature of the election of the superintendent of public instruction, the nature of the availability and distribution of public moneys, and other matters, conspired so to speak to make of the Department an essentially responsive agency as opposed to initiatory agency.

Turning then to the events that went on throughout the 1960's, that saw alteration in those circumstances, the last half of the 1950's was the period of greatest increase in the numbers of cor. munity colleges in Michigan and the early 1960's saw the department exercising a good deal of activity by consolidating the gains that had been made in that respect, and so on.

I only mention that because, despite the dramatic increase in the number of community colleges, that was an instance in which the role of the department was strictly a function of its ability to persuade, and there was, virtually speaking, almost no coercion or regulation or anything of the kind involved in that activity.

FEDERAL ACTS BRING CHANGE

Shortly thereafter, however, two Federal acts occurred, which began the change in the nature of our relationship. The first was the Vocational Education Act of 1963, and the second was the Elementary-Secondary Education Act of 1965.

The significance of those two being that they caused substantial amounts of Federal money to come into the department for distribution to local school districts, which made of the Michigan State Department of Education, for the first time, two things—first, an advocate of promising educational practices when Federal moneys were being utilized; and second, and perhaps more importantly made of the department of education for the first time a very serious monitor of educational activity, educational programs.

In other words, made of the department a very substantial presence in local educational affairs.

The early 1960's also saw the implementation of a State-funded program of student financial aid, which took the form of competitive scholarship grants and loans, and that was an illustration of the ability of the local educational community in Michigan to persuade the legislature and the State board and the department to take certain actions that increased student participation in higher education, and so on.

But then turning to an event that is of equal significance to the Vocational Education Act, and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, in 1963 Michigan citizens passed a new constitution which caused a dramatic revision in Michigan's educational affairs, in that an eight-member State board of education came to be elected statewide. The State board then appointed a superintendent of public instruction, who had previously been elected, and, as a result, the Michigan Department of Education was reorganized into one of Michigan's 19 new State agencies, and I mention that only because, prior to the 1963 constitution, Michigan had had more than 150 agencies and boards of commission, and other instruments of State government.

In the fall of 1969 began the operation and administration of the State board of education assessment program, and that is a highly significant event because, first, the State of Michigan is the leading State in the Nation in the administration of the statewide assessment program which undertakes to measure educational progress for all public school students in the State in grades four and seven.

Therefore, as a result of assessment, the department became the chief depository of educational data which described the delivery of educational service in Michigan public schools.

Finally, in 1970, Michigan citizens settled the question of whether or not we should use Michigan public moneys for the support of private schools, when Michigan citizens, by electoral mandate, forbade the distribution of public moneys to private schools.

The present era, that is to say, the era of the 1970's, saw Dr. John Porter become superintendent of public instruction and bring with him a model of accountability which has played such an important role in what has gone on in Michigan education since the beginning of this decade.

Effect of Accountability

The next matter that I want to return to, having made those references to outstanding historical events, is the effect of accountability on public instruction in Michigan. Stated very briefly, accountability as it is perceived and practiced in the Michigan State Department of Education, consists of six elements which you may have seen referred to in other discussions of the matter, but very briefly, for Michigan purposes, accountability consists of the following:

1. The development of educational goals.
2. The settling of performance objectives for the purposes of obtaining those goals.
3. The undertaking of assessment for purposes of ascertaining whether or not the pursuit of performance objectives brings us close to the goals we have set forth.
4. An analysis of the data that assessment yields.
5. Evaluation and testing.
6. Recommendations either for the continuing of activities that have been adjudged successful, or recommendations for alterations on the grounds that what we have been doing has not been getting us where we want to be.

I have allowed Dr. Porter to speak for himself on the subject of accountability by enclosing two statements.* One, "Accountability in Education," which was an address given by Dr. Porter on the subject, and second, a position statement on "Educational Accountability," which in effect describes the department of education's perception and practice of that procedural form.

Disparity Between State and Federal Programs

What I want to turn to next, then, is the extent to which the department's operating under accountability has caused certain programs administered by the department to represent a rather dramatic and substantial departure from similar programs administered by the U.S. Office of Education.

And for this I have chosen essentially three examples at the Federal level. First is compensatory education as illustrated by Title I. The second is assessment as subsidized and administered by the U.S. Office of Education.

And finally, vocational education, as illustrated by the Federal acts that have caused public moneys to be made available in that regard.

Let me say first of all that in describing these discrepancies, it is not my intention to be critical of the U.S. Office of Education, and neither is it my intention to suggest that this is a matter that, of necessity, ought to generate any particular kind of activity.

It is simply to say two things. First, I think that where there exist sharp differences between two institutions as large as the State department of education and the U.S. Office of Education, that ought to be known both to the public and to the community and professional educators, partly so that they might be aware that we have two large

*See part 19C, Appendix 1.

institutions undertaking to deliver the same kinds of services in rather dramatically different ways.

And finally, it seems to me that these discrepancies at least suggest that one perhaps ought to prevail over the other.

Keeping that in mind, then, let me turn first of all to Title I.

I infer, on the basis of the age, the persistence, and the pervasiveness of Title I, that it is very substantially illustrative of the educational premises on which the U.S. Office of Education operates.

And I proceed therefore to make reference to the fact that pupil eligibility for compensatory education subsidized by Title I is principally a function of socioeconomic status. It is not a function of pupil performance, not a function of the effectiveness of the school. It is a function of socioeconomic status.

I therefore conclude that the Office of Education considers SES an important, if not the most important, and reliable variable in predicting and improving pupil performance.

The illustrative programs implemented by the Office of Education consist of nutritional programs, home visits, Headstart, activities of that kind, all of which are designed to cause governmental intervention in the life of the pupil, the purpose being to alter the child's environment, and thereby somehow alter his performance in the institution of public instruction.

Therefore, Title I programs are directed to what the U.S. Office of Education calls disabilities and discrepancies emanating in the home environment. And I would suppose that you are as familiar with the rhetoric of compensatory education as I am, and I will not go on with that.

Failure of Title I Programs

What I do want to point out, though, is that the record indicates that there is rather frequent failure of Title I programs, if the intent is to measurably improve cognitive skills, and that as a result of that frequent failure, what happens is that the community of professional educators draw the conclusion that if more money were available, and bigger Title I programs could be devised, then an earlier and greater intervention in the life of the child could be caused with presumably greater improvement in the cognitive skills that I hope we are all interested in.

What I do want to emphasize is this, that while it is true that substantial numbers of my professional colleagues consistently cry for more and more money for purposes of compensatory education, it might well be that they do so partly in obedience to the Congress and partly in obedience to the U.S. Office of Education; since the Congress appropriates these moneys, and the Congress fundamentally defines the premises on which compensatory education will operate, it's safe to conclude that the Congress is at least as enamored of the relationship of socioeconomic status and pupil performance as the U.S. Office of Education is.

The Michigan State Department of Education is in full support of the concept of compensatory education, since we know that there are students whose educational performance is less than we would like it to be, and that we are obviously interested in ways of improving that.

What the department takes exception to is the efficacy of an educa-

tional ideology that places the burden of performance on pupils, and our conclusion is that when attempts at remediation concentrate on changing the environment or the behavior of the child as opposed to the school, that inferentially the burden of performance is being placed on the pupil as opposed to the school.

And obviously, what I am leading up to is that the department would like to see a greater responsibility for performance placed on the institution, as opposed to the individual child.

Furthermore, and perhaps of equal importance, we view with some disquiet the casual manner in which the designation "deprived" is cast, as it were, over so substantial a portion of the population, when it is possible to conclude that the deprivation may be more a function of the disability of the institutions of social service than a function of the nature of the individual children who are going to school.

So that what we are suggesting in this instance is three things. First of all, that the designation "deprived" be more carefully applied. Second, there be greater responsibility put on the institution of social service; to wit, the schools. And finally, that in compensatory education, there be a considerable strengthening of evaluation instruments and an increase in the authority and the opportunity that the U.S. Office of Education has that will cause a change in the delivery of service when the data that is yielded as a result of evaluation suggests that.

Michigan State Aid Act

Turning to the alternative, then, that the department has developed, I want to say just a word about the Michigan State Aid Act, Section 3. Section 3 of the Michigan State Aid Act is a State-funded compensatory education program which causes $200 per pupil to be made available to local school districts when those school districts contain 30 pupils—or 15 percent of the pupil population—whose basic skill scores, as measured by the Michigan State Department of Education assessment program, are below the 15th percentile.

In other words, we use our statewide assessment instruments for purposes of identifying students who aren't doing well, and then make $200 per pupil available to local school districts for purposes of improving.

Senator Mondale. Will the school districts getting State money also be eligible for the Title I funds?

Mr. Edmonds. Yes; it is eligible.

Senator Mondale. It is eligible for both?

Mr. Edmonds. It is. The local school district is free to dispose of the $200 per pupil as it sees fit. This is not categorical. The only—what shall I say?—strings involved consist of the obligation on the local school district to provide the department with certain information as a prerequisite to getting the money. First of all, the local school district has to identify the pupils by name.

Second, the local school district has to provide the department with the performance objectives in advance of the program.

And finally, the local school district has to provide the department with pre- and post-test results indicating the progress that the pupils are making, who are in receipt of this State-funded compensatory education.

Senator MONDALE. How long has Section 3 been funded?

Mr. EDMONDS. This is the first year. The most recent legislative session saw the first enactment of this particular form of Section 3. There has been in Michigan before, State-funded compensatory education, but what I am describing now is a rather substantial difference in the State's compensatory education system.

Senator MONDALE. Is Section 3 fully funded to meet all the children?

Mr. EDMONDS. No; it is not. It is funded at the level of $23 million.

Senator MONDALE. How would you need to reach $200 per pupil?

Mr. EDMONDS. $200 per pupil throughout the State? I don't think I would attempt to answer that.

Senator MONDALE. Is it a long way toward full funding, or a small way?

INADEQUATE FUNDING

Mr. EDMONDS. I would say if the figure is $200 per pupil, then, perhaps, three times that amount that I mentioned would do it.

Senator MONDALE. Section 3 is one-third funded?

Mr. EDMONDS. Well, what happens with the $23 million is that it is not parceled out to all the pupils who are eligible. All the school districts in receipt of the Section 3 moneys are fully funded, since the distribution is made in a descending order of eligibility. That is to say, the school districts with the greatest number of needful students are fully funded first and we go on through school districts until the money is exhausted.

Senator MONDALE. But approximately two-thirds of the students who fall below the 15 percentile will not be receiving money under the present funding levels?

Mr. EDMONDS. That is true. Would not be receiving State moneys in any case. That is true.

Finally, Section 3—what I want to say is that when the pre- and post-testing results that I referred to indicate the pupils are scoring 75 percent of the performance objectives, then the school district is eligible to continue in receipt of the State compensatory education moneys, and the converse is also true, that is to say, when the pupils, individual pupils, fall below 75 percent gain, then there are penalties attached.

The thing I want to point out, though, about Section 3 is the difference between Section 3, and Title I.

Senator MONDALE. Is there a performance contracting with the school? In other words, the school designated a Section 3 school receives $200 times the number of students within that category, and provided the schoolchildren in that category achieve 75 percent of what?

Mr. EDMONDS. Seventy-five percent of the performance objectives.

Senator MONDALE. Who sets the performance objectives?

Mr. EDMONDS. The performance objectives are a function of discussions that go on between the local school district and the department.

Senator MONDALE. Are they set out in quantitative terms?

Mr. EDMONDS. They are.

Senator MONDALE. So much reading improvement per year?

Mr. EDMONDS. That's accurate.

Senator MONDALE. So much mathematics?

Mr. EDMONDS. That's right.

Senator MONDALE. You have not completed the first full year, so you don't know how that is going to work out?

Mr. EDMONDS. That's correct.

Senator MONDALE. OK.

Mr. EDMONDS. The differences that I want to emphasize consist first of all in that Section 3 makes no reference to socioeconomic status, race, deprivation, or any other terms that inferentially place the burden of performance on the pupil as opposed to the school district.

What we are attempting to do in Section 3 is concentrate on less ambiguous areas of pupil performance, and what we are further attempting to do is to shift the burden of educational performance from individual pupils to individual school systems.

MICHIGAN'S ASSESSMENT PROGRAM

Turning then to another illustration of the discrepancies between the educational premises of the U.S. Office of Education and the Michigan State Department of Education, I want to say just a few words about Michigan's assessment program.

The U.S. Office of Education a few years ago funded a national educational assessment effort, and further, Title III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act includes and has included a needs assessment portion.

The department is not altogether enthusiastic about either of those assessment activities, the reason being that despite the fact that both national assessment and needs assessment in Title III have caused a good deal of data to be made available to educational decisionmakers, the evidence available to us does not suggest that substantial numbers of students who aren't well served are receiving better service as a result of the data that was produced by national assessment or by needs assessment.

In other words, our basic criticism would be that there is insufficient utilization of the data that is yielded as a result of these assessment activities.

Turning to Michigan's assessment program, I already made reference to the fact that if we use our assessment data to identify the most needful persons in Michigan schools, and if furthermore we then cause certain educational decisions to be taken as a direct result of those activities, and that if you project you can see that Michigan is not collecting data from assessment solely for purposes of having it, and that in many respects the difference between the U.S. Office of Education's investment in assessment, and the Michigan State Department of Education's investment in assessment is the difference between using information that you get and not using information that you get.

And I simply want to emphasize that assessment is one of the components of an accountability model and that the department is acting, it seems to us, very appropriately in utilizing the data that we are gathering as a result of assessment.

And speaking just descriptively, I mentioned before that our assessment efforts thus far measure all pupils in grades 4 and 7 in Michigan public schools.

Vocational Education Differences

Finally, I just want to say a very few words about the difference between vocational education as it is articulated, conceived, and practiced at the Federal level, and career education as an alternative, as conceived and practiced at the State level, at least in the instance of Michigan.

The Vocational Education Act of 1963, together with the 1968 amendments to that act, provided for Federal funds to support vocational education activities, and describing the principal elements—they go like this:

That in order to be eligible, pupils have to be youth and adult, that is to say, by and large vocational education is directed to secondary and postsecondary activities.

A further inferred conclusion, examining the 1963 Vocational Education Act, is that public schools don't need to be concerned with vocational education in the elementary schools. The rules and regulations of federally funded vocational education require local school officials to distinguish vocational activities, the courses have to be labeled that way so you have categorization that is perfectly consistent with curricular generalizations.

And finally, vocational education perpetuates the concept that pupils ought to follow programs, since the vocational education activities under the Federal leadership conform to traditional courses and curricular and programmatic arrangements.

Briefly then, for purposes of comparison, I just want to say a word about Michigan's career education thrust. First of all, we have included all pupils at all levels, that is to say, Michigan's career education, for us, is devoted to elementary school through post-secondary instruction.

Furthermore, since the goal in Michigan's career education thrust is career alternatives for all, and we develop performance objectives which are directed to every level and phase of public instruction, career education integrates vocational education into all courses in addition to certain activities that are specifically designed. But what I really want to emphasize is that under our career education thrust, there is no such thing as general education, no such thing as college preparatory education, and neither are there courses that are called vocational education, since we intend that vocational education should be a part of—all activities at all levels. And that as a matter of fact, it is not possible to identify an educational activity that cannot be called career education.

Let me give you a very, very brief example of the effect that our career education thrust might have, and I emphasize that this is an example. But it's a very attractive, and futhermore a realistic example.

Example of Career Education

Under career education, we might devise something like this, that we would mandate—and by we, I mean educational decisionmakers in Michigan, the Legislature, the State Department, et cetera—we would mandate the local school district to make available to pupils who leave the school system for any reason whatever, the per pupil expenditure that would have been spent had the student remained in school.

The student would then be free to use his local school district per pupil expenditure to purchase for himself vocational education in any of approximately 400 settings that are approved by the Department of Education. That is to say, if the local school district's per pupil expenditure is $800, and the pupil quit school at age 16, he would then have that money for purposes of becoming an apprentice mechanic or apprentice sculptor or apprentice whatever vocational activity might interest him.

Senator MONDALE. Is that program in being now?

Mr. EDMONDS. It is not. I am giving you an example of the kinds of things you might anticipate as a result of the description of career education that is presently being pursued by the Department.

The only reason I mention something of that kind is because it emphasizes the extent to which vocational education under our career education thrust becomes an integral part of public instruction, and that it is not divisible from other kinds of educational activity. And that we must take some exception to the extent to which the U.S. Office of Education's perception of vocational education causes separation, categorization, and the like.

Well, perhaps these brief illustrations are sufficient. Let me close, then, simply by saying that the Michigan Board of Education, the Department of Education, and superintendent, have considerable confidence in these few examples that I have given, and we would very much encourage both the Congress and the U.S. Office of Education to look with considerable scrutiny on the differences between the directions that we seem to be taking in Michigan as compared to Washington, and to see whether or not there isn't some value in being more aware of our differences, or perhaps whether or not information that is yielded might suggest a reconciliation of our differences in favor of one institution as opposed to the other.

Senator MONDALE. Mr. Edmonds, as I understand it, Michigan administers a wide given set of achievement tests at the fourth and seventh grade level to determine pupil achievement in the basic skills.

How long has that testing program been in effect?

Mr. EDMONDS. Three years.

ASSESSMENT RESULTS

Senator MONDALE. Three years. What—if you can tell us briefly—does that tell us about equality of education in Michigan, since I would suspect that what you see there is merely typical of northern industrial States? Where do you find children achieving at or above the norms? Where do you find them achieving below? As a matter of the test results.

Mr. EDMONDS. There are no surprises. In the data that is collected, we find that probably the most successful pupil performances, at least as measured by our instruments, occur in suburban school districts, occur in the semirural school districts, in semirural or, rather, nonurban Michigan. Upper Peninsula, and some outlying school districts.

Perhaps the thing I should emphasize is that the data describes a great discrepancy between pupil performance, between inner cities and suburbs, between suburbs and poor rural areas, and so on.

Perhaps the thing I should emphasize is that there are some negative conclusions. First of all, we don't discover any automatic correlation between per pupil expenditure and pupil performance. That is to say, we cannot conclude that money, in and of itself, will cause the kind of pupil performance that we are interested in.

Neither can we conclude that any of the traditional measures of school district quality automatically correlate with improved pupil performance. That is to say, the variables that describe the years of teaching experience, educational training, age of the physical plant, and matters of that kind, do not bear any necessary relationship to the quality of pupil performance.

What I am avoiding——

Senator MONDALE. In other words, you have found substantial differences in the basic skill achievement levels between different schools in Michigan, and your tests have shown that those differences are not reflective of the differences of the quality of teachers or number of teachers or amount of money being spent, is that what you are saying?

Mr. EDMONDS. Not necessarily. I am not prepared to make cause and effect descriptions.

Senator MONDALE. Maybe I got ahead of you. What were you saying?

Mr. EDMONDS. I was saying that our data indicates that it isn't possible to automatically correlate any of those traditional variables. You cannot say that by identifying the school district with the higher per pupil expenditure, you will therefore identify the school district with the most successful pupil performance, and so on.

Senator MONDALE. Now has Title I made any difference in the achievement levels of the underachieving schools?

Mr. EDMONDS. Yes.

Senator MONDALE. How would you describe that?

Mr. EDMONDS. I would say that certainly there is evidence to indictate that in some school districts, for some students, Title I moneys cause an improvement in pupil performance but I would also say the opposite.

Senator MONDALE. Well, apparently at your recommendation, the Department's recommendation, the State developed a different aid formula which, unlike Title I, is based upon achievement test scores alone, and not color or socioeconomic status.

Why did you decide on a different formula, rather than the title I? You must have been dissatisfied with title I, weren't you?

EMPHASIS ON PUPIL PERFORMANCE

Mr. EDMONDS. Our dissatisfaction with title I was based, first of all, on the fact that the identification of the most needful students was a function of circumstances that don't necessarily have anything to do with schools.

We are not prepared to say that students who are poor or black or both are necessarily students who can be predicted to do poorly in schools, and that the exception we would take would be the inference that if a public school system causes to be enrolled in that system a student who is black or poor or both, that we are all agreed then that

in the absence of rather dramatic intervention in the life of the student, you can expect him to do poorly. We don't accept that description of the relationship between socioeconomic status, race, and pupil performance.

Therefore, what we became interested in was a single variable, that is pupil performance, and that is the only thing we wanted to measure—precompensatory education.

Senator MONDALE. Have you made a judgment that it's money and other inputs which will make a difference in the variance in achievement levels.

Mr. EDMONDS. Let me—the answer is "No." And let me illustrate by saying—I said in the course of my formal remarks that this was not, that the State's Section 3 is not categorical aid. We do not require the local school district to do any particular thing with its $200 per pupil.

The reason for that is that the burden, therefore, of educational decisionmaking and the burden of the delivery of educational service is on the local educator. He decides what he wants to do.

If he decides that what he wishes to do is to install bright, red, rather luxurious drapes in the classroom, that is his affair. All he has to do is tell us what cognitive skills are going to be improved as a result of the purchase of these drapes, and provide us with test data to show that the gains have been made and he is, therefore, free to continue to buy the drapes or do anything else that may, in his professional judgment, improve pupil performance.

The difference is that Title I mandates certain kinds of compensatory education activity, and therefore, as it were, relieves the local educators of the responsibility of making the decision of what should be done.

And if there is a failure, it is not uncommon for the local educator to say one of two things. First, to possibly say the U.S. Office of Education provides insufficient moneys, too late in the school year, or something else of the kind, so that it won't do what is wanted.

Senator MONDALE. Senator Hart?

Senator HART. I am not a member of this committee and I am grateful to Senator Mondale for permitting me to sit with him.

And having made that explanation for what may be a very stupid question, when are you going to be able to tell us what it is that makes the difference in pupil performance?

FACTORS IN PUPIL PERFORMANCE

Mr. EDMONDS. Well, in many respects we can do that now.

Senator HART. Well, I felt myself running around a track when you and Senator Mondale were talking. What is it you know now—as of now—what is it that makes for better pupil achievement or performance?

Mr. EDMONDS. Well, let me say this very carefully, because I don't want to be thought obscure or anything of the kind.

But it may be that in the sense that you are putting the question, I can't answer it. The answer to pupil performance is as varied as the nature of individual teachers or the nature of individual school districts, and that we do not believe that we are going to identify some unambiguous formula that automatically causes appropriate pupil performance.

We, in a sense, are operating on the premise that we have done a good many things that don't work. What we are, therefore, going to cause to happen is, we are going to cause to come into being very dramatically different systems of service in school systems, and that the nature of the service will be a function of the local circumstance.

We don't know what it will be like. We don't know what the local educator will decide to do. The only thing we do know is, if he identifies something that works, then he will be encouraged to continue that. He will be financially encouraged.

If he does something that doesn't work—this is the big difference—he is going to suffer financial penalty, and he is therefore going to be financially encouraged to stop doing that.

So what we are after is the certainty that we can identify things that don't work, and that will cause the school system to begin to pursue other things. And I can't make for you an answer and say that the teachers make the difference or that the plant makes the difference. I can't give that kind of an answer.

Senator HART. But you did say that perhaps you couldn't answer the question I put, which I think is sort of the present kind of question. What will make Johnny perform better. That's really what I was trying to get an answer to.

But you did say that it varies, as differences between teachers and school districts. So that is it fair for me to understand that a student's performance is a reflection of the ability of the teacher, in part?

Mr. EDMONDS. Well, if I don't respond directly to your question it is not because I disagree or take any exception to it. And perhaps I should have another go.

But let me say, in response to that, first of all I don't think that very much teaching goes on anywhere. And I think what we are interested in is learning.

We don't really know a devil of a lot about how students learn. We know that they do. We know that all school-pupil contacts teach something. The question is, is the student learning what we want him to know as we sit about and devise for ourselves what we would like students to get out of participation in public instruction?

Therefore, what I will say to you is, successful education is any environment in which students have the opportunity to learn what they either want to know or need to know in relationship to what they have set out to do.

INFLUENCE OF TEACHERS ON ACHIEVEMENT

Senator HART. Well, do statistics available to the State Department, and educators generally, indicate that there is greater learning at the hands of some teachers than other teachers?

Mr. EDMONDS. Yes.

Senator HART. Does that suggest then that if the goal is improving the learning of the child, that the teacher and the teacher's ability is a factor?

Mr. EDMONDS. Oh, yes. But there are some students whose learning is impeded by aggressive and pervasive teaching, and therefore there are some students for whom a teacher's presence is an obstruction.

Senator HART. You mean the presence of that teacher? Not a teacher?

Mr. EDMONDS. I mean that certain exemplary and demonstration

projects have identified substantial numbers of students who do best when they are—when the teacher plays the role, is it were, of a manager, and does no more than provide a setting and identify resources and facilitate, and does not teach in a traditional sense of doing a lot of talking and being a pervasive presence, as it were, and so on.

I am not generalizing about that phenomenon. I am just trying to emphasize that there is not outstanding variable in public performance, and that there is no easily identifiable formula by which pupil performance can be directly predicted.

What we are interested in is a tremendous, extraordinary, hitherto unknown, unseen variety in education activity, having a single goal, successfull activity as measured by predetermined performance objectives, and so long as the students are achieving those objectives, then the activity continues.

Senator MONDALE. Would the Senator yield there?

Senator HART. Let me ask something before I forget it. I am not sure I even understand it.

Since public schools always will have rather large numbers in the classroom, 25, say, do educators yet know which type of teacher—the manager or the aggressor—reaches the majority of that 25?

REDUCED CLASS SIZE

Mr. EDMONDS. Well, let me begin by disagreeing slightly with the premise that started your question. I am not so certain that public schools will always have 25 or so students in the classroom.

I gave, a while ago, an example. I said that career education in Michigan might encourage making available to students 16 years of age and older the per pupil expenditure that would have been invested in the pupil if he had remained in the public school, and that therefore, 16-, 17- and 18-year-olds would have the opportunity to leave the public school, either by virtue of being expelled, or quitting, or voluntarily departing, and take with them their per pupil expenditure and invest that in any approved vocational activity—airplane mechanics, being a butcher, a painter, or whatever it is that may interest them.

That at least raises the possibility of a rather considerably reduced class size in secondary schools.

What it does, though, really, is that the implications of such a change cause such a shift in the nature of secondary schooling that I am not in a position to predict what it would be like.

Senator HART. I guess what I had in mind, that for some generations we would have rather large groupings of children, and I was trying to find out which educator's basic style of teaching produced greater learning.

Mr. EDMONDS. Let me say it this way, Senator. We have a lot of data that suggest that students learn all manner of things as a result of the managerial teacher, or other kinds. As I look at that data, I am not certain that any of the things that are described are what students need to know or want to know.

So I am not therefore prepared to recommend that any school district ought to have all managerial teachers, or 75-percent managerial teachers, or whatever the case may be. I am only interested in what

are the performance objectives, to what extent are the students achieving those performance objectives at an acceptable level, and therefore, what can we do to encourage what is going on that is successful, and discourage what is not successful.

Senator HART. And I do understand that, for whatever reasons, the pupil performance in inner city schools is at a level lower than that of pupils in suburban schools, and the comparison between the rural pupil and the suburban pupil is in the same balance, that is, the poor, rural area student has a percentage below the suburban student?

EXPENDITURE VERSUS PERFORMANCE

Mr. EDMONDS. The answer is "Yes," with one exception. We have noted that there are certain school districts in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan where performance is very dramatically successful, where per pupil expenditures are very dramatically low.

But I would categorize that as an exception.

Senator HART. Is the per pupil expenditure the most constant factor in these comparisons?

Mr. EDMONDS. No; it is not. For example, it is possible to say that Detroit has very high per pupil expenditure, and very low pupil performance. So that is dramatic and easy to say.

It is possible to say there are certain school districts in the Upper Peninsula that, on a statewide basis, have very low pupil expenditure and very high per pupil performance.

Having said those two things, it is not possible to generalize any more.

Senator HART. Thank you.

Senator MONDALE. If you were to pick the kind of school in which a child in Michigan would have the best chance for cognitive achievement, where would you send that child; and if you were to pick the school in which the child would have the least chance of cognitive achievement, what would that be?

Mr. EDMONDS. In the school systems? First of all, it would depend on the child.

And the only problem I guess I am having with your question is that I am not much disposed to send children to any school system, on the basis of either my own personal experiences or professional judgment.

I think the school systems that have the best record of pupil performance are homogeneous in the sense that they seem to have community consensus on what the school system is supposed to do, and, furthermore, that the professional educator in the community seems to fully understand what the community expects, and that he invests himself in that, and that there is no sharp discrepancy between the professional educator's perception of what the school system is for and the community's perception of what the school system is for.

SOCIALIZATION IMPORTANT

I say that because, obviously, before the schools convey cognitive skills, they socialize. And that it just isn't possible to distinguish in a school system between the process of socialization and the conveyance of basic skills.

School systems in which there is consensus, as it were, regardless of the racial composition of the school system, regardless of the socio-economic variance of the school system, in which there is agreement on what the socialization is supposed to consist of, and what it's supposed to look like, seem to do better at conveying or causing to be acquired the basic cognitive skills than those that have very dramatic disagreement.

Senator MONDALE. Well now, this committee is charged with the very amorphous and difficult task of trying to determine the degree to which children are denied equality in educational opportunity. To the extent that that exists, what strategies by the Federal or other government or anyone else, for that matter, might assist in overcoming those inequalities?

We have heard from a great number of central city superintendents, parents, and others that the schools found in the central city ghettos are in many cases, for whatever the reasons, unable to deliver the kind of education that gives to those children attending an equal educational opportunity. Is that true in Michigan?

Mr. EDMONDS. Yes. It's true in Michigan. Let me very carefully suggest at least one reason.

It's probably easy—would be easy for you to identify substantial numbers of black parents in Detroit who, given the opportunity, would say they want their children to learn to read and write and count.

Unfortunately, it would be equally easy to identify teachers who would say that they would want the children to learn to have a certain dialect, or standard English, for example. Or that they would want the students to be disposed to attend concerts or want the students to have other manifestations of the life style, if you will, that is middle class.

That is a discrepancy, and a very substantial and dramatic discrepancy.

INTEGRATED FACULTY

Senator MONDALE. But hasn't Detroit gone impressively far in removing segregation in administrative personnel and faculty?

I think the *Roth* case concluded that the one thing Detroit had done well was moving toward an honestly integrated faculty, at the professional administrative level, as well as at the schoolteacher level. Doesn't that neutralize some of the bias to which you make reference?

Mr. EDMONDS. That is a very interesting way to categorize that. And the obvious premise that produced the question is that somehow black teachers are more disposed or more capable of responding to the needs of black students.

Senator MONDALE. There was an assumption in my question that a black teacher should be far more sensitive to the difference in life styles and aspirations of the young black student perhaps than a middle-class white teacher. And such things as dialects, and so on, might be far more understandable and treated more sensitively by black teachers as a result. Maybe that is not correct.

RACE OF TEACHER

Mr. EDMONDS. First of all, I would not be prepared to predict that there is any automatic correlation between the kinds of sympathy you describe and the color of the teachers, because variables that explain

how teachers get to be sensitive or responsive to the needs of students lie elsewhere, other than color. That is part of it.

The second thing I would say is that the record does not indicate that black professional educators necessarily define the goals of the school system in ways that are dramatically different than white educators.

Now let me emphasize straight away, I am interested in all school systems having black teachers, and so on, and I am interested in recruiting black professional personnel. I think Detroit deserves to be commended for what it has done. I think there are school systems all over Michigan that ought to have dramatically more minority professionals than they have.

But there is one other premise I want to comment on, and that is, nothing in education can relieve the majority—white people—of the responsibility of delivering education service to minority children.

The public schools are democratic, and the majority in the United States is white, and therefore school systems will continue appropriately to be essentially responsive to the educational goals that are defined by the white population.

To suggest that having substantial numbers of black teachers in a school system will automatically dissipate the difference between the educational expectations of black people and the educational behavior of white professionals is in many respects off the point. It just doesn't happen.

So the only thing I am trying to get at, as carefully as I can, is the unfortunate inference that where you have identified a school system that has very substantial numbers of black professional personnel, you have identified a school system in which this discrepancy between the expectation of the professionals and the expectation of the community has dissipated, that simply is not so.

I think obviously what integration means is that—at least what it means as it is articulated and practiced by the Congress and the U.S. Office of Education, and the United States as a whole—integration means that black professional educators are ideologically indistinguishable from white professional educators, and therefore, if white professional educators are inferred to be responsible for disagreements with black parents in inner cities, and what goes on in the school system, then having black teachers who are not ideologically different will not dissipate the disagreement.

What I really want to emphasize, finally in this regard, I have always professionally believed that it is grossly unfair to place such a burden of improvement on professional people simply because they are black, and that therefore the reasons for recruiting black professional educators have absolutely nothing necessarily to do with improving pupil performance.

At least if what we are interested in is the performance of black students. And that if you want to improve the performance of black students, you cannot obviate the necessity of concentrating your attention on the educational premise that characterizes the Congress, for example, which is white, and I would presume will remain so, and the U.S. Office of Education, and the professional bureaucracy in local school systems, and so on.

And I really—if I could persuade you to do anything—I would try most heartily to persuade you to lift that burden of reform off the backs of black educators, who are recruited day after day into local schools systems with the expectation that now all will be well with black students, simply because somehow these black educators are going to cause to happen the things that are not otherwise going on.

Senator MONDALE. Senator Hart?

Senator HART. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I have no further questions. Perhaps in the end I will be able to better understand, but I am grateful for your help in making clear some of the complications in this field.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you, Mr. Edmonds.

Mr. EDMONDS. Thank you.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF RONALD R. EDMONDS

Mr. Chairman, Senators, on behalf of the Michigan State Board of Education, the Superintendent of Public Instruction and the Michigan State Department of Education, may I express appreciation for this opportunity to discuss education in Michigan.

These remarks extend to three areas of Michigan's educational affairs; first, a brief description of important events in Michigan education during the last decade; second, a description of accountability as it is being articulated and implemented by the Michigan State Department of Education and finally, a discussion of the discrepancy between the educational premises that characterize certain programs in the United States Office of Education and the Michigan State Department of Education.

For the sake of brevity I have decided against a statistical description of Michigan education during the last decade. There are no surprises in the data. All measures of educational activity and expense rose steadily throughout the decade. An ever increasing portion of Michigan's population became direct participants in educational activity. Despite a numerical increase, Michigan's public school dropout percentages were relatively constant throughout the decade. Like other large states, Michigan has, and has had, a considerable discrepancy among school districts' per pupil expenditure and assessed valuation. The numbers of successfully matriculating pupils has grown apace with population increase among school age children and youth. The decade closed with a statistical projection of slowly declining preschool and primary school children.

These statistical observations describe more and better educational service to increasing numbers of Michigan citizens. These statisaical observations cannot describe an educational climate of dissatisfaction in Michigan since our educational expectations have progressed geometrically while our educational gains have been arithmetic.

When the decade of the 1960's began, educational decision-making in Michigan principally resided with local school officials. Tradition, a quiescent public, and electoral circumstances combined to make the Michigan State Department of Education essentially subservient to the community of professional educators. The Department's perception and practice of service consisted of cooperation with local school officials along lines drawn by the school districts. Events of the 1960's conspired to alter that circumstance. Let me, therefore, briefly describe certain outstanding educational events from the point of view of their effect on the nature of educational decision-making in Michigan.

The early 1960's saw a culmination of the 1950's dramatic increase in the numbers of community colleges in Michigan. Michigan's Superintendent of Public Instruction and staff of the Department of Education had, principally through persuasion, caused the number of community colleges in Michigan to increase from 9 in 1954 to 25 in 1961. The era of the growth of Michigan community colleges illustrates the extent to which the Michigan State Department of Education was an essentially cooperative agency whose service was defined by the local school official's articulation of his needs. The most significant consequence

of the proliferation of Michigan's community colleges was the extension of the opportunity for higher education to a portion of Michigan's population that had not, hitherto, been so served.

Shortly thereafter, two federal acts were passed which significantly altered the nature of educational decision-making in Michigan. The Vocational Education Act of 1963 and the Elementary Secondary Education Act of 1965 caused substantial sums of federal money to begin to come into Michigan. Those monies were intended for local school districts with the proviso that the State Department of Education would be responsible for initially receiving the monies from the Federal Government and thereafter distributing those monies. Thus, the numbers of professional personnel in the Department of Education increased as a direct result of the necessity to employ state administrators for federally funded educational programs. Further, and more significantly, the Department was required to monitor and regulate the uses to which the monies were put. The nature of federal funding logically compelled the Department of Education to become advocates of promising federally funded educational programs and regulators of those programs. Visibility, influence and the authority of Michigan's Department of Education increased as the flow of federal funds increased.

The early 1960's also saw the implementation of a state funded program of Student Financial Aid taking the form of competitive scholarship awards and tuition grants. State appropriations were provided to the Department of Education for purposes of increasing the educational opporunities available to Michigan youth in so far as financial assistance can do that.

The externally generated alteration of the nature of educational decision-making in Michigan was considerably escalated by certain events confined to the state. In 1963 the citizens of Michigan adopted a new state constitution. In 1965 and 1966 the educational provisions of the new constitution went into effect with the statewide election of a State Board of Education, the State Board of Education appointment of a State Superintendent of Public Instruction, and reorganization of the Department of Education into one of Michigan's 19 new state agencies. Prior to the 1963 constitution, Michigan State Government had included more than 150 agencies, boards, commissions and other instruments of state government.

General leadership and supervision of public instruction in Michigan was constitutionally invested in the State Board of Education. Thus, the most publicly observable and constitutionally important group of educational decision-makers in Michigan became the State Board of Education. Combined with my earlier references to the implications of federal funding of educational programs, Michigan citizens increasingly recognized Lansing as the most singly important locale from which significant and pervasive educational decisions emanated.

The State Board of Education, Superintendent of Public Instruction, State Department of Education, and Michigan Legislature joined in 1966 in beginning efforts to equalize the distribution of the state's fiscal resources when directed to public instruction. Section 17 of the 1965 State Aid Act, Section 4 of the 1966 State Aid Act and Section 3 of the 1968 State Aid Act caused manipulations in the distribution of fiscal resources directed to public schooling and further caused a state investment in compensatory education roughly analogous to the federal investment in compensatory education. My colleague, Mr. McKerr, will be discussing educational financing and I will, therefore, say no more of that.

The fall of 1969 began the operation and administration of the State Board of Education's assessment program. I will make later remarks about the assessment program and will be content here to note that Legislative support of assessment and the State Board of Education adoption of assessment combined to make the State Department of Education the chief depository of data describing the delivery of educational service in Michigan's public schools.

The general election of 1970 saw Michigan citizens finally resolve the question of public monies for private schools by an electoral mandate which forbade the distribution of public monies to private schools. Discussions of parochaid had consumed considerable educational energy throughout the 1960's.

Finally, the present era of public instruction in Michigan saw Dr. John W. Porter ascend to the post of Superintendent of Public Instruction and bring with him the model of accountability which I will describe later. Accountability concludes the shift in constituencies of the Michigan State Department of

Education from professional educators in the 1960's to all Michigan children, youth and adults in the 1970's.

In summary, the decade of the 1960's saw dramatic increase in the numbers of Michigan citizens in receipt of educational services, and further, the climate of educational opinion-making and decision-making in Michigan had undergone substantial change.

As the Michigan State Department of Education entered the decade of the 1970's the Superintendent of Public Instruction and the State Board of Education sought the means by which the Department might be held up to close internal scrutiny for purposes of improving the quality of its service to Michigan's educational community.

All such efforts at institutional analysis separate into procedural considerations as opposed to substantive considerations. The attempt to improve the internal procedures of the Department focused on the applicability of an accountability model to the administrative needs of the Department.

Dr. John Porter, Michigan's Superintendent of Public Instruction, is chief architect and principle advocate of the appropriateness of accountability as a response to the Michigan State Department of Education effort to improve the quality of its service.

I have allowed Dr. Porter to speak for himself by enclosing two documents: First, an address by Dr. Porter entitled, "Accountability in Education" and second, "A Position Statement on Educational Accountability . . ." which describes the Department's perception and practice of the accountablty model. Taken together, these two documents accurately describe the Michigan State Department of Education's commitment to accountability as a procedural instrument for rendering the Department more appropriately responsive to the needs of Michigan's children, youth and adults.

It is interesting to note that while working under the procedural reforms initiated by accountability, certain laudable, substantive changes occurred in the programs administered by the State Department of Education. For today, I will confine myself to a brief description of changes in the areas of compensatory education, needs assessment and career education. I choose thesse examples partly because they allow discussion of the discrepancy between the educational premises of the Michigan State Department of Education as compared to the United States Office of Education.

It seems to me that such discrepancy ought to generate one of two responses. First, the public and professional educators might simply become aware of the different educational premises that characterize the two agencies. The opportunity would thus exist to observe two large governmental agencies using divergent means to the same end. Second, the competing premises might be carefully examined seeking information and insight causing one approach to be preferred over the other. I much prefer these two possibilities to the traditional institutional response inferred ideological difference; acceptance, resignation and such superficial administration as to obscure or ignore important lessons to be learned in examining dramatically different approaches to the delivery of educational service.

The persistence and pervasiveness of Title I allows me to infer that the educational premises that form the basis for Title I programs permeate the United States Office of Education.

Pupil eligibility for compensatory education subsidized by Title I is based on the student's socio-economic status. I, therefore, conclude that the United States Office of Education considers SES an important and reliable variable in predicting and improving pupil performance.

Nutritional programs, home visits, Head Start and the like describe the United States Office of Education's programmatic attempt to improve pupil performance by modifying the relationship between pupil performance and SES.

Historically, the United States Office of Education has been administratively content to insure that the children in receipt of Title I monies are low income and otherwise characterized by what the United States Office calls educational and cultural deprivation. Such rules of eligibility express far less interest in pupil performance than in pupil SES.

That is understandable, in light of the logical inference that the United States Office operates on the educational premise that the most consistently reliable means for improving pupil performance consists of ameliorating the relationship between pupil SES and pupil acquisition of basic school skills. Thus, Title I programs are directed to those presumed disabilities and deprivations in the home that impede the pupil's progress.

Unfortunately, the record indicates that the frequent failure of Title I programs to measurably improve cognitive skills in no way adversely reflects on the affected institution of public instruction. Rather, the conclusion is drawn that if more money were available, bigger Title I programs could be devised and intervention in the life of the child could be earlier and greater. For example, a conscientious and careful group of educators in Michigan recently proposed that compensatory education should be available to pregnant women when the unborn child meets Title I eligibility standards.

There is no need to recite the chorus of professional cries asking the Congress and the United States Office of Education to provide more and more money for greater and earlier intervention in the life of children described by the United States Office of Education as educationally and culturally deprived and therefore cognitively deficient. It is, thus, possible to generalize that Title I failure feeds on itself and causes escalated and expanded replication of those activities that failed in the first place.

In defense of the professional practitioners of compensatory education, I should point out that the Congress and the United States Office of Education inadvertently lead the chorus. Title I programs funded by the Congress and administered by the United States Office of Education logically compel pursuit of such sums as will allow the absolute dissipation of the existing SES discrepancy among public school students. I do not think the Congress or the United States Office of Education intends that, and I would therefore urge you to reconsider an educational ideology that places the burden of educational improvement on pupils.

Let me make it clear that the Michigan State Department of Education is in full support of the concept of compensatory education programs in institutions of public instruction. However, the Department views, with some disquiet, the inability of the educational premises of federally funded compensatory programs to produce measurable improvement among substantial portions of the pupil population in receipt of such programs. The Michigan State Department of Education is compelled to question the efficacy of the educational ideology that is Title I when applied to so large a portion of the pupil population by using casual methods of educational analysis and diagnosis. Our support of federal compensatory education is therefore modified by our recommendation that the designation "deprived" be more carefully and conservatively applied and further that present provisions for program evaluation and response to evaluation be strengthened dramatically.

The Michigan State Department of Education has initiated a substantive and procedural alternative to the United States Office of Education's approach to compensatory education. The most recent session of the Michigan Legislature saw the enactment of a State Aid Bill whose Section 3 embodied a dramatically different approach to compensatory education. Section 3 causes $200 per pupil to be made available to local school districts when such school districts contain 30 pupils or 15% of the pupil population whose basic skills scores, as measured by the Michigan State Department of Education's assessment program, are below the 15th percentile. The local school district is, therefore, eligible for $200 times the number of pupils whose performance indicates the need for compensatory education. School districts in receipt of these monies may use their own judgment in the disposing of these monies so long as the pupils in receipt of the funded programs are identified by name and further that there be made available to the Department of Education pre and post test results indicating the success of the program in comparison to the performance objectives of the program which shall have been articulated and made available to the Department by the local school district.

When testing shows that pupils make gains of at least 75% of the skills in the performance objectives, the district may continue in receipt of the state's per pupil compensatory education allotment on a prorated basis.

Let me point out several important fundamental differences between Michigan's Section 3 and the United States Office of Education's Title I. Section 3 does not mention SES, race, deprivation or other terms that inferentially place the burden of performance on the pupil.

By concentrating on less ambiguous variables in pupil performance and educational success, Section 3 of Michigan's State Aid Bill causes the burden of performance to move from the pupil to the school. Consistent with my earlier reference to accountability, when analysis of the educational delivery system indicates that pupils are not well served, the system is made to change.

Turning to another illustration of the discrepancy between the educational premises of the United States Office of Education and the Michigan State Department of Education, I want to say a few words about Michigan's educational assessment program. My colleague, Dr. Kearney, will be providing the committee a broad and fundamental description of our assessment program. For my purposes, I wish only to identify the extent to which different premises characterize the Michigan State Department of Education's approach to assessment as compared to the United States Office of Education's approach to assessment.

The United States Office of Education, a few years ago, funded a national educational assessment effort. Further, Title III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act has historically included needs assessment. Both programs were intended to provide educational decision-makers with information which would presumably assist those decision-makers in identifying programs and activities that produce measurable progress, and further, to assess the areas of greatest educational need. To some extent, both programs have been successful. That is to say, both the national assessment effort and the needs assessment portion of Title III have produced substantial quantities of information which identify educational need and suggest certain educational decisions.

Now comes the question, to what extent has the information produced by these programs caused institutions of public instruction to alter their delivery systems? The answer is, very little. Without intending any criticism of the appropriateness of the United States Office of Education's interest in assessment or the sincerity, intelligence and commitment that has characterized those who have administered these programs, it must be said that only a small portion of poorly served pupils have achieved measurable gains in basic school skills as a result of these programs. The reason is that neither national assessment nor needs assessment held schools accountable for their inability or failure to deliver to pupils those basic school skills that are the hallmark of educational success. Those who administer national assessment and needs assessment are left to persuade local school officials to make changes in response to the data that are produced by these programs. Where persuasion does not succeed, the local school officials continue previous practices or refuse promising practices. The educational premise behind national assessment and needs assessment would seem to be that the burden of performance is on the pupil and that it is inappropriate to devise or administer programs in ways that hold schools accountable for the success or failure of their delivery systems.

I referred earlier to the role of Michigan's educational assessment program in identifying pupils whose performance suggests that they are not being well served by their schools.

The essential difference between Michigan's approach to assessment and the United States Office of Education's approach to assessment is the difference between the state response to assessment data and the United States Office of Education's response to assessment data. Section 3 of Michigan's State Aid Act makes it clear that institutions are obliged to alter their delivery systems in response to assessment data that identify an unsuccessful educational delivery system. If the question, "so what?" is put to the three assessment programs I have referred to, the positive response comes from Michigan. The Department of Education's overall commitment to accountability logically proceeds to the development and administration of programs such as assessment in ways that place the burden of performance on the schools.

Educators have long been noted for carrying out studies, undertaking analyses and making recommendations which do not accrue to the benefit of pupils despite the accuracy of the studies, the value of the analyses or the appropriateness of the recommendations. That description of inaction cannot be applied to the Michigan State Department of Education's use of the information produced by our assessment program. As a final illustration of the discrepancy between educational premises of the United States Office of Education and the Michigan State Department of Education, I want to say a few words about the Vocational Education Act of 1963 together with the 1968 amendments which provided federally supported vocational education programs for secondary and post secondary students.

The nature of the eligible population infers that the most needful students are youth and adults. A further inferred conclusion is that public schools need not be concerned with vocational education in elementary schooling. The rules and regulations of federally funded vocational education require local school

officials to offer clearly distinguishable vocational activities. Programs must be separate from other educational offerings and therefore encourage curricular categories such as "general" and "college preparatory". Finally, vocational education perpetuates the concept that pupils follow programs. Vocational education activities conform to traditional course, curricular and programmatic arrangements.

By comparison, Michigan's Career Education Thrust permeates the educational process and further seeks to serve *children*, youth and adults. Michigan's analysis of the delivery of service in the instance of vocational education produced the conclusion that too few pupils were being well served and too few educational resources were being invested in the delivery of educational services so far as vocational education was concerned. Michigan's accountability model logically compelled the development of a Career Education Thrust in response to our assessment of educational need. Michigan's conception of career education includes all educational activities and seeks to serve all children, youth and adults.

Since the goal is career alternatives for all, performance objectives are directed to every level and phase of public instruction. Career education integrates vocational education into all courses in addition to some activities that are specifically designed to teach occupational skills.

Designations like "general education" and "college preparatory" are irrelevant when the educational enterprise is directed to offer all pupils occupational and educational skills. Full implementation of Career Education will insure Michigan citizens usable skills that cannot be categorized as "general." Whether preparing for college or artisanship, all will be offered preparation for self support.

Where pupil need cannot be met in the public school the student will be free to satisfy his educational needs in other settings.

We thus find ourselves in the Michigan State Department of Education in the position of administering federal programs in vocational education and implementing a state program in career education without being able to easily combine the two. The question must be: Does information available to the Congress and the United States Office of Education compel the conclusion that vocational education is conceptually adequate as defined by presently federally funded programs? Or, has Michigan appropriately caused its delivery system of educational services to change in response to the identification of need?

The Michigan State Board of Education and the Michigan State Department of Education have considerable confidence in their newly adopted accountability procedures, assessment program, Career Education Thrust and other recently articulated programmatic alternatives to certain activities of the United States Office of Education. We would, therefore, recommend federal examination of Michigan's experience and federal examination of our differences seeking improvement in the quality of educational service available to all our citizens.

Senator MONDALE. Our next witness is Dr. Daniel H. Kruger, professor, School of Labor and Industrial Relations, Michigan State University.

Dr. Kruger, we are very impressed by the statement you have submitted. We will include the full statement in the record* as though read.

Dr. KRUGER. I am going to summarize it.

Senator MONDALE. Very well.

STATEMENT OF DR. DANIEL H. KRUGER, PROFESSOR, SCHOOL OF LABOR AND INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS, MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

Dr. KRUGER. My name is Daniel H. Kruger, I am professor of industrial relations in the School of Labor and Industrial Relations at Michigan State University.

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*See prepared statement, p. 9410.

My testimony this morning deals with the socioeconomic indicators of Michigan with the implications for education. Mr. Edmonds was describing the educational problems of the State. I want to summarize briefly a number of indicators, such as changes in population, income and employment, educational levels, State and local taxes, and several others. These indicators have implications for education as I shall point out.

Michigan is really a microcosm of the United States. Within its borders it has a large metropolitan area, large rural areas, and unforunately depressed areas.

It has giant manufacturing firms. It has an important agricultural sector. It has a critical unemployment problem. It has racial problems. It has a growing Spanish surname population.

Its products are an important part of American foreign trade. Its principal industries are affected by the Nation's foreign trade policy. We even have foreign relations with our neighbor to the north, Canada.

It is a wealthy State, but has a poverty problem. It has a long history of support of public education dating back to the Northwest Ordnance of 1787.

It is a State very sensitive to changes in economic conditions, because of a high proportion of workers involved in the manufacture of durable goods.

Lastly, this is a personal point, it is a State trying to develop a series of solutions to its internal complex social and economic problems.

Population Increases

The first socioeconomic indicator to be examined is population. The 1970 census showed that Michigan has a population of 8,875,000, an increase of 13 percent over the 1960 census.

The white population increased 10 percent, whereas the black increased 38 percent.

In 1970, blacks and other races accounted for 11.7 percent of the population, compared with 9 percent in 1960.

In Michigan, there is almost 1 million blacks and 51,000 other racial groups. By comparison, in 1960, there were 718,000 blacks and 19,700 other racial groups.

A significant factor in the increase in the State's black population was in-State migration. During the decade, over 100,000 blacks moved into Michigan, probably in search of better economic opportunities.

The white population living in standard metropolitan statistical areas within the State increased about 10 percent during the decade, as compared to about 39 percent for the blacks.

Ninety-four percent of all blacks in the State lived in the standard metropolitan statistical areas.

Within the central cities of the State, the black population increased about 40 percent, while the white population declined 17 percent.

Eighty-two percent of the black population in Michigan lives in the central cities.

Turning next to place of residence. The black population increased significantly between 1960 and 1970 in all of the 10 SMSA's in the

State. Four of these had a black population of more than 10 percent. The range was 11.1 percent in Muskegon to 18.6 percent in Detroit. Of the 10 major urbanized areas, five in 1970 had 10 percent or more nonwhite population.

DETROIT SMSA

Senator MONDALE. There is a Detroit standard metropolitan statistical area, is there not?

Dr. KRUGER. Yes.

Senator MONDALE. Which includes the central city of Detroit, and then suburbs, and counties, and communities around it.

What happened—if you have the figures—between 1960 and 1970? By how much did the black population in Detroit increase? By how much did the white population in Detroit increase? You have the percentages. Do you have the figures?

Dr. KRUGER. The Detroit SMSA in 1960 had a percent of nonwhite population of 15.8 percent, and in 1970, it was 19.5 percent. Put another way, there were 566,988 nonwhite persons in 1960 and 780,211 in 1970 an increase of 37.6 percent.

Senator MONDALE. Is that the city of Detroit? The city of Detroit had 15-percent black in 1960, and 19 percent in 1970?

Dr. KRUGER. No, not the city of Detroit, the Detroit SMSA.

Senator MONDALE. I am talking about the city of Detroit. What did it have in 1960 and what in 1970?

Dr. KRUEGER. The city of Detroit itself, in 1960 had 487,682 or 29.2-percent nonwhite, and 672,609 or 44.5-percent nonwhite in 1970, an increase of 39.7 percent.

Senator MONDALE. What happened to the white population during that period? I suppose it was correspondingly reduced.

Dr. KRUGER. Yes, sir. In the decade 1960–70 the total population of the city of Detroit declined 9.5 percent; the white population also declined 29 percent.

Senator MONDALE. In the standard metropolitan area——

Dr. KRUGER. Which takes in three counties.

Senator MONDALE. Right. What was the percentage white in 1960, what was the percentage white in 1970, if you have it?

Dr. KRUGER. In the Detroit SMSA the total population increased 11.6 percent during the decade. The white population increased only 7 percent compared to 37.6-percent increase in nonwhite population.

Senator MONDALE. Do you have any figures on what happened to the jobs?

Dr. KRUGER. Yes, sir.

Senator MONDALE. What have you got on that?

Dr. KRUGER. Well, we are having a critical unemployment problem in our State, as Senator Hart can attest to. In 1970 the national unemployment rate was 4.9 percent while in Michigan it was 7 percent. The manufacturing jobs have not increased significantly. As a matter of fact, the percentage of manufacturing jobs—of nonfarm jobs—has been steadily decreasing. In 1960, manufacturing jobs accounted for 51.5 percent of the State's nonfarm employment and 45.8 percent in 1970.

Senator MONDALE. There was a study in New York City over the last decade——

Dr. KRUGER. Showing the number of jobs——

Senator MONDALE. Well, it showed the increase in the black population in New York, the decrease in the white population of New York which went into the suburbs, along with the jobs.

Dr. KRUGER. Yes, sir. That is almost happening in the Detroit area.

Senator MONDALE. Do you have figures that highlight that?

Dr. KRUGER. No, I do not, sir. I am not aware of any study in our State that is similar to the New York study to which you refer.

Senator MONDALE. All right.

CHANGES IN URBAN AREAS

Dr. KRUGER. To return to the population data there have been dramatic changes in the composition of the population of our urban areas. In 1960, for example, there were 17 urban places in the State with a nonwhite population of 10 percent or more, and by 1970, there were 26 urban places with a nonwhite population of 10 percent or more.

And in 1960, there were 10 urban places with nonwhite population of 20 percent or more, and in 1970, we have 14 urban places.

In 1960, there were five urban places with a nonwhite population of 30 percent or more, and in 1970, we have eight such cities.

And I have listed all of the cities with 5 percent or more nonwhite population in Table III. A quick examination will show significant increases in the percent of nonwhite population.

A comment about the age distribution. We have been experiencing within the decade a decrease of 17 percent in the age cohort, 0 to 4 years, and this I think has implications for education, as I will point out later on.

The distribution of the population by age is very similar in 1970 to what it was in 1960, with about 38 percent under 18 years of age, 54 percent in the 18 to 64 group, and 8 percent 65 years old and over.

Then I want to turn to employment, because you raised the question. Unemployment in our State has been changing. Not only has it been changing, but agricultural employment has been declining 40 percent during the decade. Self-employment has been declining. Wage and salary workers have been increasing. During the decade, the wage and salary workers in our State increased by about 30 percent. Now the significance of that is, to my point of view, that in Michigan, like the rest of the United States, we have developed what I have called a job economy. Where about 92 percent of our labor force are employees, and therefore the job has become the most important economic activity in the lives of the citizens, because it is through the job that he gets the income to underwrite a particular style or standard of living.

Unfortunately, in large segments of our State, especially the rural areas and the depressed areas, job opportunities really are not available in sufficient numbers, with the result that our young people move to urban areas in the southern part of the State.

As a matter of fact, Michigan really has three distinct areas. The southern part, where 90 percent of the population lives, the northern part of the Lower Peninsula, and the Upper Peninsula. And the unemployment rates for the northern part of the State are very high in comparison with the rest of the State.

As I mentioned earlier, manufacturing is an important source of employment in our State, and in the decade 1960 to 1970, employment in manufacturing increased only about 11 percent. Service employment increased 62 percent, and government employment increased 65 percent.

High Rates of Unemployment

Not only has Detroit experienced high rates of unemployment, there are high rates of unemployment in the other nine major labor markets of the State.

Unfortunately, there is not much data on unemployment rates by race in Michigan. We do have some data, however, from 1967 to 1970.

In 1967, the nonwhite unemployment rate was over two times the rate for the State. And three times higher than the unemployment rate for whites.

In 1970, the nonwhite unemployment rate was about two times higher than the State total, and again about twice as high as the white reading, and this applies not only for the State but the Detroit standard metropolitan statistical area.

There are other data submitted in the testimony, and I do not want to comment on that unless the Senators have some questions to raise on that.

There are other data on the socioeconomic indicators included in the prepared text. After analyzing these data what are some of the implications for public education in Michigan.

Senator Mondale. You may want to get to that. What has happened to the question of desegregation—integration—whatever you call it—and racial isolation in Michigan over the past 10 years? Have the races become more desegregated or more segregated over the last decade in Michigan?

Dr. Kruger. Just in terms of the way they live?

Senator Mondale. I am not talking about discrimination, but about where they live, yes.

Dr. Kruger. Well, I have visited every major city in our State in connection with my duties at the university, and the black population of our State is concentrated in the central cities of our 10 major labor markets. Not only is the black population concentrated in particular sections of these cities, it is growing rapidly.

Senator Mondale. Well, in the past decade has there been any tendency different from that, or is that trend continuing?

Dr. Kruger. Well, with the increases in the population, the numbers of blacks living in the central cities have increased significantly. That is where the bulk of the blacks live—82 percent.

Senator Mondale. What about the black middle class, and upper-middle class? Are they living essentially in the black areas, or are they seeking——

Migration to Suburbs

Dr. Kruger. There has been some migration out to the suburbs, or outside the central city. But the number is very small. About 129,000 or 13 percent of the black population live outside the central cities. This represents an increase of 32 percent over 1960.

I must say this, however. The percent is very misleading, because you start with a very low base, and a small number can give you a very high percent.

Senator Mondale. Would you say, though, based upon the pattern of the last decade, that segregation is increasing or decreasing?

Dr. Kruger. I would say increasing.

Senator Mondale. Dramtically? Substantially?

Dr. Kruger. Significantly, dramatically and substantially all three. This complicates the problems of desegregation of the schools.

Senator Mondale. Senator Hart?

Senator Hart. It shows our failure to respond to the Kerner Commission and Eisenhower Commission, and unless we reverse the trend, we are going to destroy ourselves.

Dr. Kruger. I agree.

Senator Hart. Even a tentative, limited movement to reverse it sends all sorts of skyrockets up. How do you persuade the public that we are on the road to disaster if this trend continues?

Dr. Kruger. I wish that I had the answer to that, Senator. To say it is a continuous educational process, I believe that. But how do you accelerate that? I just don't know.

Senator Hart. First of all, you have to stop it. You have to stop it continuing, and then you have to reverse it.

Any time you apply the slightest pressure to the brakes, the people——

Dr. Kruger. The people get very nervous.

Senator Hart. People are wild-eyed.

Dr. Kruger. I wish I knew how to deal with this. I have tried in my own way at the university and elsewhere to call attention to the dimensions of the problem, hopefully that the rational man will understand that the Nation is at a critical crossroads. The kind of society we are going to have in the United States hangs in the balance.

And the problems being discussed here this morning are of extreme importance in determining what kind of society we are going to have in the United States. And what I attempted to do in my testimony is to point out some of the socioeconomic indicators which the citizen should be aware of as he goes about analyzing his school system and its role.

Data for Decision-Making

As I suggested in my data, close examination of the socioeconomic indicators of Michigan would be a very useful exercise by the Governor, the legislature, the various school boards, school administrators, teaching staffs, and the public.

Somehow, we have just got to get the data to them so that they can understand the dimensions of the problem. The 1970 population data

certainly show a growing black population, especially in the urban areas, and this growth in the black population, scattered across the southern part of our State, will accentuate the problems of desegregation.

For example, in Three Rivers, the black population doubled between 1960 and 1970. This is a little, small city in the southwest part of the State. You will note in the prepared text that there has been significant growth in the black population in many communities across the State. Concomitantly the number of black students has also increased in the public school system.

It seems to me that the State department of education must assume its general leadership role as provided in the State constitution, so that we can do all that can be done to provide high quality equal educational opportunities for all. This will not be easy, but it must be done if the American society is not to be destroyed.

There is another problem here, too, Senator, that I want to call your attention to. Namely, that in the school districts in sparsely settled areas, especially in the northern part of the Lower Peninsula and in the Upper Peninsula, these school districts just do not have the economic base to generate sufficient incomes to provide quality education for the students.

This suggests a need to revamp the current method of financing public education, which relies heavily on property tax.

Senator HART. I get the feeling that, with rather surprising speed, there is a public realization that the method of financing education has been unequal and is unfair. Ten years ago I doubt very many people outside of education accepted this. I think now generally people do.

The affluent suburbanite I think has formed a conscience, whether moral or just survival twinges, I don't know which. But in this area, the business of the inequality and the basic business of how much money stands behind each child—people are coming to understand this.

Dr. KRUGER. Well, there is a case in California that is going to accentuate the reevaluation of how to finance public education.

Senator HART. There is a much broader understanding and desire to correct this situation than the Kerner type of caution about the Nation in two camps, black and white. We are much slower to acknowledge the threat and to undertake remedial efforts on this.

HIGH IN-STATE MIGRATION

Dr. KRUGER. One of the things that strikes me, as you look at the data, about our State, and I am sure it is true of other States, that we have a rather high in-State migration, both from the South and the Southwest. An increasing number of Spanish Americans—Mexican Americans—are dropping out of the migrant stream and settling in our State.

And we inherit the educational deficiencies of the school systems of other parts of the country.

While I can appreciate the importance of local control of school districts, it's very easy for one section of the State and one section of the country to export its problems to another part. And this is why I guess I urge our State Department of Education to take a more forceful leadership role in addressing itself to the educational problems of our State.

I think the Congress is going to have to do that itself. Now if I use another analogy, Senator, with respect to manpower, we are giving the mayors the authority to plan for manpower services in anticipation of some kind of revenue sharing. If the mayors could guarantee that nobody can enter the city and nobody can leave the city, then they should plan and deliver manpower services. Planning and the delivery of manpower services becomes very difficult as a result of the interstate highway system that enables people to cross the State and county quickly. It is very easy to live in one area and go to work in some other area of the State, and if you have limited reading and arithmetic skills, you cannot compete in the labor market, whether it's in Detroit or Lansing.

It seems to me that, given the importance of the educational process for the survival of our society, a laissez-faire attitude will have to go.

Senator HART. Over a long period of years, and it's partly the concept of the local school district, we have sort of forgotten that it's a public school system, not a private school system.

Dr. KRUGER. It's a public school system, supported by both local and State taxes.

There is another problem that I want to call to your attention, Senator. As I mentioned, we are a high wage paying State. And we have a number of newcomers from the South and the Southwest, some of whom are fortunate to get employment in high paying but relatively unskilled jobs.

Their incomes are such that they may not be eligible for Title I programs, and therefore the school district, while needing special remedial programs, just doesn't qualify.

Senator MONDALE. Senator Hart had to leave for an appointment. He will be back later.

As I understand it, your point about the job situation is that there is a dramatic trend away from self-employment ——

TREND FROM SELF-EMPLOYMENT

Dr. KRUGER. Oh, no question about it.

Senator MONDALE. Toward job dependency.

Dr. KRUGER. We are a Nation of employees.

Senator MONDALE. In Michigan, 92 percent of the labor force must go somewhere and get a job from somebody else.

Dr. KRUGER. In the country as a whole it is 90 percent.

Senator MONDALE. It is increasing, and since to get a job you must be able to read and write and do arithmetic, and to get a good job you must do all those things well.

Dr. KRUGER. Yes.

Senator MONDALE. The failure to provide these basic skills is dramatically affecting the life chances of children who are inadequately equipped to compete in the job world.

Dr. KRUGER. Yes, sir.

Senator MONDALE. So that today the failure of our schools may not be any worse than it was, say, 20 years ago, but the consequences of that failure are much worse.

Dr. KRUGER. Ten or 20 years ago, there were more unskilled jobs. For example one could operate an elevator, but most of the elevators are now automated and self-operated.

But I think the important thing is, 20 years ago, you could open a corner grocery store with a small capital. Today, the supermarkets are eliminating the need for the Ma and Pa stores. Opportunities for self-employment are steadily declining.

I think the job economy and the fact that we have become a Nation of employees has great implication for the educational system, and the attitudes of the citizen toward the job. The job is a very valuable piece of property. It's the passport to the good life.

And I have data in the prepared text on income that I did not touch on, but there are many people who are not making enough income, by the poverty standards, in the State of Michigan.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you very much for providing us with a most useful setting, giving us details which will be very helpful in the development of our record.

As I said, the full statement will be included as though read, and we very much appreciate your coming.

Dr. KRUGER. Thank you very much for the opportunity to testify before the committee.

Senator MONDALE. Senator Hart will be back in a few minutes. He is meeting with the mayor of Detroit.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF DANIEL H. KRUGER

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THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC INDICATORS OF MICHIGAN - IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATION

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Testimony before the Senate Subcommittee on Equal Educational Opportunity, October 26, 1971, Washington, D.C.

Michigan, one of the Great Lakes states, is one of the important manufacturing states in the nation. Michigan and Detroit are synonymous with the automobile industry. The automobile put the world on wheels and this state and Detroit on the map. Michigan has 4.5 percent of the Nation's population which makes it the seventh largest state.

There are three identifiable sections of the state - the southern part of the Lower Peninsula where approximately 90 percent of the population resides, the northern part of the Lower Peninsula which is mostly rural and the Upper Peninsula which is mostly forest. The mining industry of iron and copper, is located here. There is the famous Mackinaw Bridge which joins the Upper Peninsula with the Lower Peninsula.

Michigan is a microcosm of the United States. Within its borders, it has a large metropolitan area, large rural areas and depressed areas. It has giant manufacturing firms which are world wide. It is an important agricultural state. It has a critical unemployment problem. It has racial problems. It has a growing Spanish surname population. Its products are an important part of American foreign trade. And its principle industries are affected by the Nation's foreign trade policy. It has several ports. It is located adjacent to a foreign country, Canada. Its population in terms of racial and ethnic composition is hetergeneous. It is a wealthy state but has a poverty problem.

It has a long history of support of public education dating back to the Northwest Ordinance of 1787. It is a state very sensitive to changes to economic conditions because of the high proportion of its workers involved in the manufacturing of durable goods. Lastly, it is a state trying to develop a series of solutions to its internal complex social and economic problems.

In this paper, an effort will be made to analyze several socio-economic indicators which will describe the important socio-economic problems of Michigan. Out of such an analysis will come implications for the State's elementary and secondary public school system. The socio-economic indicators to be examined include population, income, employment, education, and several others.

Population

The 1970 census shows that Michigan has a population of 8,875,083, an increase of 13.4 percent over the 1960 census. The white population during the decade increased 10.6 percent whereas the Black population increased 38.1 percent. In 1970, Blacks and other races accounted for 11.7 percent of the population compared with 9.2 percent in 1960. There are almost one million Blacks and 51,000 other racial groups in the State in 1970. By comparison, in 1960 there were 718,000 Blacks and 19,700 other racial groups. A significant factor in the increase in the State's Black population was in-state migration. During the decade over 100,000 Blacks moved into Michigan, probably in search of better economic opportunities.

The white population inside the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMSA) increased 10.6 percent between 1960 and 1970 as compared with a 38.5 percent increase for the Blacks. 938,000 Blacks out of 991,000 live in SMSA's. Within the central cities of the State the Black population increased 39.6 percent while the white population declined 17.3 percent. Eighty-two percent of the Black population in Michigan lives in the central cities.

Outside the central cities, the white population increased 27.4 percent. Of the 5,831,000 whites living in the SMSA, 4,191,000 or 72 percent live outside the central cities. The Blacks living outside the central cities increased 32.1 percent, but this increase is somewhat misleading since the data for the base year 1960 are low. 129,000 Blacks or 13 percent of the total Black population live out-

side of the central cities.

Two million white population in 1970 lived outside the SMSA's. This represents 25.5 percent of the total white population in Michigan. Between 1960 and 1970 the white population living outside the SMSA's increased 10.4 percent. Only 53,000 Blacks or 5.3 percent of the total Black population live outside SMSA's.

There was a larger percent of non-white population in the ten urbanized areas of the State in 1970 than in 1960. Table I shows that five major urbanized areas in 1970 had 10 percent or more non-white population: Ann Arbor, 10.2 percent; Muskegon - Muskegon Heights, 15.4 percent; Flint, 18.5 percent; Saginaw, 18.6 percent; and Detroit, 19.5 percent. By comparison, in 1960 Ann Arbor had 9 percent; Muskegon - Muskegon Heights, 12.3 percent; Flint, 13.1 percent; Saginaw, 14.5 percent; and Detroit, 15.8 percent. The growth in non-white population in the 5 other urbanized areas is presented in Table I.

TABLE I

COMPARISON OF THE RACIAL COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION
IN THE URBANIZED AREAS OF MICHIGAN

For the Years 1960 and 1970

Area	Percentage Non-White 1960	Percentage Non-White 1970
Ann Arbor	9.0	10.2
Bay City	.9	1.3
Detroit	15.8	19.5
Flint	13.1	18.5
Grand Rapids	5.1	7.0
Jackson	6.7	8.2
Kalamazoo	4.9	6.5
Lansing	4.8	7.2
Muskegon - Muskegon Heights	12.3	15.4
Saginaw	14.5	18.6

Sources: 1960 U.S. Census of the Population;
1970 U.S. Census of the Population

Residence

In 1960, 73.4 percent of the State's population was urban and 26.6 percent rural. The 1970 census reveals that 73.8% of the population is urban and 26.2 percent rural. However, during the decade the white urban population increased 10.2 percent, while the Black and other races urban population increased 39.8 percent. During the ten year period, the rural white population increased 11.4 percent, whereas the Black and other races rural population remained about the same.

The non-white population increased significantly between 1960 and 1970 in all of the 10 SMSA's in the State: Ann Arbor, Bay City, Detroit, Flint, Grand Rapids, Jackson, Kalamazoo, Lansing, Muskegon, and Saginaw. Of the ten areas, Bay City had the lowest percent of non-white population in both 1960 and 1970, 0.7 percent in the former year and 1 percent in 1970. Detroit in 1960 had 15.1 percent non-white population and 18.6 percent in 1970, the highest of the SMSA's. Table II on the following page compares the percentage of non-white population in both 1960 and 1970 in the State's ten SMSA's.

TABLE II

COMPARISON OF THE RACIAL COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION
IN THE STANDARD METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREAS, MICHIGAN,

For the Years 1960 and 1970

Area	Percentage Non-White 1960	Percentage Non-White 1970
Ann Arbor	7.6	8.9
Bay City	.7	1.0
Detroit	15.1	18.6
Flint	9.9	12.6
Grand Rapids	4.2	4.8
Jackson	5.7	6.3
Kalamazoo	3.6	5.3
Lansing	2.8	4.6
Muskegon	8.7	11.1
Saginaw	10.0	12.8

Sources: 1960 U.S. Census of Population, U.S. Bureau of Census;
1970 U.S. Census of Population, U.S. Bureau of Census

As indicated in Table III, in 1960 there were 17 urban places in the state with a non-white population of 10 percent or more. In 1970, there were 26 urban places with a non-white population of 10 percent or more.

In 1960, there were 10 urban places with a non-white population of 20 percent or more while in 1970, there were 14 urban places with such a proportion of non-white population.

In 1960, there were 5 urban places with a non-white population of 30 percent or more, as compared with 8 in 1970.

In 1960, there was one urban place with a non-white population of 40 percent or more, while in 1970 there were 6.

TABLE III

COMPARISON OF RACIAL COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION
IN SELECTED URBAN AREAS, MICHIGAN
For the Years 1960 and 1970
(Areas with 5 Percent or More Non-White Population)

Urban Places	Percentage Non-White 1960	Percentage Non-White 1970
Albion	20.4	25.5
Ann Arbor	6.5	9.0
Battle Creek	15.2	20.6
Benton Harbor	25.3	59.3
Benton Heights (U)	69.9	xxx
Benton Central (U)		52.7
Buchanan	8.7	11.0
Carrolton	xxx	5.9
Detroit	29.2	44.5
Dowagiac	13.3	15.8
East Lansing		5.1
Ecorse	33.3	38.8
Flint	17.7	28.6
Grand Rapids	8.3	12.0
Hamtramck	14.5	12.5
Highland Park	21.4	56.9
Inkster	34.7	44.9
Jackson	9.3	13.9
Kalamazoo	6.7	10.6
Kincheloe (U)	xxx	13.3
K.I. Sawyer (U)	xxx	11.7
Lansing	6.5	10.1
Mount Clemens	11.7	16.7
Muskegon	8.2	15.0
Muskegon Heights	38.6	52.5
Niles	5.4	8.7
Pontiac	17.0	27.5
River Rouge	32.4	32.4
Romeo	6.7	6.9
Saginaw	17.0	25.0
South Haven	8.2	12.3
Three Rivers	3.2	7.9
Ypsilanti	22.6	20.4

xxx Not listed

Source: 1960 U.S. Census of Population;
1970 U.S. Census of Population

Age Distribution

Over one third (36.6 percent) of the 1970 population is under 18 years of age. Over 50 percent (54.9 percent) is between 18 to 64 years of age and 8.5 percent of the state's population is 65 years and over. These age distributions are almost identical with those for the 1960 population: 37.8 percent under 18, 54 percent 18 - 64 and 8.2 percent 65 years and older.

An analysis of the 1970 data by age cohort shows that there has been a decrease of 17 percent in the age group 0 - 4 years during the decade 1960 - 70. This is the largest decrease in any of the age cohorts as evidenced in Table IV. Two other age cohorts experienced decreases. There was a 9.3 percent decrease in the 30 - 34 age group and a 14.7 percent decrease in the 35 - 39 cohort. The two largest increases were in the age cohorts 15 - 19 and 20 - 24. The former increased 54.7 percent and the latter 57.7 percent. These increases reflect the baby born in the post war period, 1946 - 1955.

TABLE IV

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF MICHIGAN POPULATION
1960 and 1970
(in thousands)

Age in Years	1960 percent	1970 percent	Percent change 1960 to 1970
0 - 4	969	804	-17.0
5 - 9	879	924	5.1
10 - 14	744	979	31.7
15 - 19	564	873	54.7
20 - 24	447	703	57.7
25 - 29	474	594	25.3
30 - 34	539	489	- 9.3
35 - 39	556	474	-14.7
40 - 44	509	528	3.8
45 - 49	461	529	14.7
50 - 54	398	478	20.0
55 - 59	353	411	16.6
60 - 64	293	336	14.8
65 - 69	251	264	5.0
70 - 74	184	203	10.3
75 +	203	286	40.9

Source: 1970 U.S. Census of Population

Family Formation

There are 2,181,816 families in Michigan, of these number 1,262,763 or 57.8 percent have children under 18 years of age. These families have a total of 3,073,963 children under 18 years distributed as follows: 919,993 under 6 years and 2,153,970 children 6 to 17 years of age.

Of the children under 18 years of age, 2,695,802 are white and 361,256 are Black. Put another way, 87 percent are white and 11.8 percent are Black. Of the children under 6 years of age 755,938 (82 percent) are white and 112,904 (12.3 percent) are Black. There are 1,894,979 (87.9 percent) white children 6 - 17 years and 248,352 (11.5 percent) are Black children.

The age distribution of the Black children under 17 generally follows the proportion of Black population of the state (11.7 percent).

Sixty-two labor areas in Michigan -- either cities or counties -- had substantial or persistent levels of unemployment in October 1971. These labor areas involved 73 out of the State's 83 counties. Thus, almost the entire State is experiencing high levels of unemployment with 17 labor areas being classified as having substantial unemployment and 45 labor areas having persistent unemployment (see Table 5).

Currently, of the eight major labor markets in Michigan, six (Battle Creek, Detroit, Flint, Grand Rapids, Kalamazoo, and Saginaw) are classified as "D", which means that they have substantial unemployment of 6.0 to 8.9 percent. Lansing is a "C" group, which means a moderate rate of unemployment ranging from 3.0 to 5.9 percent. Muskegon - Muskegon Heights is in the "E" group, an area with substantial unemployment ranging from 9.0 to 11.9 percent.

TABLE V

LABOR AREAS IN MICHIGAN WITH
SUBSTANTIAL 1/ AND PERSISTENT UNEMPLOYMENT 2/
October 1, 1971

LABOR AREA	SUBSTANTIAL	PERSISTENT
Adrian (Lenawee County)	X	
Alger County		X
Allegan (Allegan County)		X
Alma (Gratiot County)		X
Alpena (Alpena County)		X
Ann Arbor (Washtenaw County)	X	
Bad Axe (Huron County)		X
Baldwin (Lake County)		X
Battle Creek (Barry and Calhoun Counties)	X	
Bay City (Bay County)		X
Benton Harbor (Berrien County)	X	
Big Rapids (Mecosta County)	X	
Boyne City (Charlevoix County)		X
Cadillac (Missaukee, Oseola and Wexford Counties)		X
Caro (Tuscola County)		X
Cheboygan (Cheboygan County)		X
Clare (Clare County)		X
Coldwater (Branch County)		X
Detroit (Macomb, Oakland, and Wayne Counties)	X	
Dowagiac (Cass County)		X
East Tawas (Alcona and Iosco Counties)		X
Elberta (Benzie County)		X
Escanaba (Delta County)		X
Flint (Genesee and Lapeer Counties)	X	
Fremont (Newaygo County)		X
Gaylord (Otsego County)		X
Grand Rapids (Kent and Ottawa Counties)	X	
Grayling (Crawford County)		X
Hancock (Houghton and Keweenaw Counties)		X
Hart (Oceana County)		X
Hillsdale (Hillsdale County)	X	
Hillman (Montmorency County)		X
Howell (Livingston County)	X	
Ionia-Belding-Greenville (Ionia and Montcalm Counties		X
Iron Mountain (Dickinson County)		X
Iron River (Iron County)		X
Ironwood (Gogebic County)		X
Jackson (Jackson County)	X	
Kalamazoo (Kalamazoo County)	X	
L'Anse (Baraga County)		X
Ludington (Mason County)		X
Mancelona (Antrim County)		X

TABLE V
LABOR AREAS IN MICHIGAN WITH
SUBSTANTIAL 1/ AND PERSISTENT UNEMPLOYMENT 2/
October 1, 1971
(Continued)

LABOR	SUBSTANTIAL	PERSISTENT
Manistee (Manistee County)		X
Manistique (Schoolcraft County)		X
Marquette (Alger and Marquette Counties)	X	
Midland (Midland and Gladwin Counties)	X	
Mio (Oscoda County)		X
Muskegon-Muskegon Heights (Muskegon County)		X
Newberry (Luce County)		X
Owosso (Shiawassee County)		X
Petoskey (Emmet County)		X
Port Huron (St. Clair County)		X
Rogers City (Presque Isle County)		X
Roscommon (Roscommon County)	X	
Saginaw (Saginaw County)	X	
St. Ignace (Mackinac County)		X
Sandusky (Sanilac County)		X
Sault Ste. Marie (Chippewa County)		X
South Haven (Van Buren County)	X	
Standish (Arenac County)		X
Traverse City (Grand Traverse, Kalkaska, and Leelanau Counties)		X
West Branch (Ogemaw County)		X

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Manpower Administration, Area Trends in Employment and Unemployment, September 1971.

1/ Areas of Substantial Unemployment. A labor area in which the current and anticipated local labor supply substantially exceeds labor requirements is classified as an area of "substantial unemployment." An area is placed in this category when:

(1) Unemployment in the area is equal to 6 percent or more of its work force, discounting seasonal or temporary factors, and

(2) It is anticipated that the rate of unemployment during the next 2 months will remain at 6 percent or more, discounting temporary or seasonal factors.

2/ Areas of Persistent Unemployment. A labor area, or a city of 250,000 or more population, or a county, may be classified as an area of "persistent unemployment" when unemployment during the most recent calendar year has averaged 6 percent or more of the work force, and the rate of unemployment has:

TABLE V
LABOR AREAS IN MICHIGAN WITH
SUBSTANTIAL 1/ AND PERSISTENT UNEMPLOYMENT 2/
October 1, 1971
(Continued)

(1) Averaged 6 percent or more and has been at least 50 percent above the national average for 3 of the preceding 4 calendar years, or

(2) Averaged 6 percent or more and has been at least 75 percent above the national average for 2 of the preceding 3 calendar years, or

(3) Averaged 6 percent or more and has been at least 100 percent above the national average for 1 of the preceding 2 calendar years.

Income

Income received by Michigan residents is an important socio-economic indicator. The standard or style of living is a function of income. In many instances, income is a factor which determines where one lives. The degree to which individuals may be willing to support their school systems may also be a function of income.

There are several sources of data available on the income of Michigan residents. One is per capita income; another is data from income tax returns; a third source is income data by county. Each will be briefly discussed.

Between 1960 and 1970, the total personal income in Michigan rose from $18.2 billion to $36.7 billion, an increase of 100 percent. The per capita personal income increased from $2,323 to $4,121, a gain of 78 percent (Table VI). By comparison, the per capita personal income of the U.S. rose from $2,219 to $3,907 , or 76 percent. The average annual percent increase in Michigan during this period was 5.7 percent and in the U.S. 7.7 percent. In one year 1961, a recession year, Michigan's per capita income declined 1.2 percent as compared with 0.4 percent decline in U.S. per capita income. In all other years, there was an increase in both Michigan and the U.S. per capita income. In Michigan, the increase ranged from a low of 3.2 percent in 1960 to a high of 9.8 per cent in 1968. Nationally, the increase ranged from a low of 4.1 percent in 1960 and a 11.9 percent gain in 1965.

Another way to compare per capita in Michigan with that of the United States is to examine the relationship one to another, i.e., Michigan's per capita income as a percent of that of the United States. In 1960, Michigan's per capita income was 104.9 percent of the U.S. and in 1970, it was 105.4 percent. In 1961, the relationship was the lowest, 101.3 percent and in 1965,

TABLE VI

U. S. TOTAL AND MICHIGAN TOTAL AND PER CAPITA PERSONAL INCOME, 1960 - 1970

Year	MICHIGAN		U.S.[a]		MICHIGAN PER CAPITA		
	Amount (millions)	Percent Change	Amount (millions)	Percent Change	Amount	Percent Change	Percent of U.S.
1960	$18,203	4.1	$398,725	4.7	$2,323	3.2	104.9
1961	18,131	-.4	414,411	3.9	2,294	-1.2	101.3
1962	19,320	6.6	440,192	6.2	2,430	5.9	102.6
1963	20,787	7.6	463,053	5.2	2,575	6.0	104.8
1964	22,701	9.2	494,913	6.9	2,768	7.5	106.9
1965	25,398	11.9	538,949	8.3	3,032	9.5	109.5
1966	27,680	9.0	583,829	8.9	3,242	6.9	108.6
1967	29,142	5.3	625,490	7.1	3,367	3.9	106.3
1968	32,222	10.6	684,442	9.4	3,697	9.8	107.8
1969	35,010	8.7	744,479	8.8	3,976	7.5	107.6
1970	36,658	4.7	796,593	7.0	4,121	3.6	105.4

a. Personal income estimates for the U.S. are the sum of state personal incomes and not comparable to total U.S. personal income which includes individuals stationed abroad.

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Office of Business Economics. 1970 estimates by the Executive Office.

the highest, 109.5 percent.

Table VII shows Federal income tax returns by adjusted gross income classes for both 1963 and 1968. In 1963, 10.3 percent of the returns were under $1,000 as compared with 9.4 percent in 1968. Over one-third of the returns in 1963 and almost three-tenths of 1968 were in the $1,000 to $5,000 class. Put another way in 1963, 45.3 percent of the returns were under $5,000 compared to 38.1 percent in 1968. Forty percent of the returns in 1963, but only 30 percent in 1968, were in the $5,000 to $10,000 class. Thus in 1963, 85 percent of the returns were under $10,000 compared with 68 percent in 1968. Accordingly, 15 percent of the returns in 1963 were $10,000 and over compared with 32 percent in 1968. Thus, the proportion of returns $10,000 and over doubled between 1963 and 1968. The proportion of returns in the $10,000 to $15,000 class rose from 11.7 percent in 1963 to 20.8 percent in 1968. The most significant increase occurred in the $15,000 to $25,000 class which rose from 2.9 percent in 1963 to 9.0 percent in 1968.

The most recent available data on income by county in Michigan are for 1967. Table VIII has data by income ranges for each county. These data show:

-- 15 counties have 20-30 percent of their households with annual cash incomes under $5,000

-- 27 counties have 30-40 percent of their households with annual cash incomes under $5,000

-- 30 counties have 40-50 percent of their households with annual cash incomes under $5,000

-- 7 counties have over 50 percent of their households with annual cash incomes under $5,000

Thus, 79 out of 83 counties have one-fifth or more of their households with annual cash incomes under $5,000. Thirty seven counties have two-fifths or more of their households with annual cash incomes under $5,000.

TABLE VII

NUMBER OF FEDERAL INCOME TAX RETURNS
BY ADJUSTED GROSS INCOME CLASS
Michigan, 1963 and 1968

Adjusted Gross Income Class	1963	Percent	1968	Percent
None	12,348	.5	13,516	.4
Under $1,000	263,063	9.8	285,597	9.0
$1,000 - $5,000	940,119	35.0	912,115	28.7
$5,000 - $10,000	1,078,964	40.2	935,294	29.5
$10,000 - $15,000	314,395	11.7	660,594	20.8
$15,000 - $25,000	77,806	2.9	286,246	9.0
$25,000 - $50,000	24,696	.9	58,903	1.8
Over $50,000	6,726	.2	16,822	.5
TOTAL	2,682,101	100%	3,169,060	99.7

Source: Internal Revenue Service, Statistics of Income 1963 and Statistics of Income 1968.

Viewed another way, 55 of the 83 counties have 20 percent or more of their households with annual cash incomes under $3,000; 7 counties have 30 percent or more of their households with annual cash incomes under $3,000; 1 county has 40 percent or more of its households with annual cas incomes under $3,000.

All of the counties with 40 percent or more of the households with incomes under $5,000 are located in the Northern part of the Lower Peninsula and in the Upper Peninsula.

TABLE VIII

Percentage of Households By Cash Income Groups,
in Michigan, By Counties, 1967*

Counties	Percentage of Households				
	$0-2,999	$3,000-4,999	$5,000-7,999	$8,000-9,999	$10,000+
Alcona	28.6	17.2	27.7	10.2	16.3
Alger	28.2	16.6	31.3	13.8	10.1
Allegan	19.2	12.4	30.2	16.6	21.6
Alpena	19.3	11.0	26.7	19.9	23.1
Antrim	28.5	19.3	28.7	11.1	12.4
Arenac	26.3	17.9	28.5	11.5	15.8
Baraga	31.7	18.9	28.7	10.8	9.9
Barry	20.5	13.1	26.1	16.1	24.2
Bay	15.8	10.1	26.0	19.4	28.7
Benzie	22.2	15.3	27.4	15.8	19.3
Berrien	18.3	10.7	25.1	17.4	28.5
Branch	22.7	13.7	25.5	13.4	24.7
Calhoun	17.7	9.9	23.5	16.7	32.2
Cass	21.2	12.7	28.9	15.3	21.9
Charlevoix	24.4	16.3	30.9	12.9	15.5
Cheboygan	26.9	18.2	27.5	12.3	15.1
Chippewa	24.0	18.8	31.9	12.4	12.9
Clare	27.9	16.2	26.8	13.8	15.3
Clinton	16.1	12.1	28.6	17.0	26.2
Crawford	25.7	16.3	29.9	15.4	12.7
Delta	24.5	17.2	33.8	12.5	12.0
Dickinson	25.8	18.4	31.5	12.6	11.7
Eaton	15.2	12.0	27.0	16.9	28.9
Emmet	25.4	15.1	28.1	15.0	16.4
Genesee	12.8	9.4	30.4	17.5	29.9
Gladwin	27.0	16.8	25.6	17.2	13.4
Gogebic	26.2	22.4	34.1	9.4	7.9
Grand Traverse	20.4	11.5	24.7	15.4	28.0
Gratiot	21.5	13.9	27.6	14.8	22.2
Hillsdale	24.5	15.4	26.9	13.9	19.3
Houghton	30.3	19.9	31.1	8.8	9.9
Huron	28.8	17.9	27.6	10.6	15.1
Ingham	14.9	10.9	27.8	16.6	29.8
Ionia	20.7	14.2	29.6	14.5	21.0
Iosco	21.4	17.3	28.9	13.3	19.1
Iron	24.5	17.9	29.2	14.3	14.1
Isabella	21.8	14.4	25.8	14.6	23.4
Jackson	14.4	10.4	23.3	18.4	33.5
Kalamazoo	14.2	9.4	25.2	18.1	33.1
Kalkaska	28.4	19.6	26.8	12.5	12.7
Kent	15.1	10.5	25.8	17.5	31.1
Keweenaw	29.6	24.1	35.2	6.2	4.9
Lake	41.8	17.8	23.4	8.1	8.9
Lapeer	18.8	13.3	29.7	14.1	24.1
Leelanau	25.1	17.6	26.9	11.7	18.7
Lenawee	18.8	11.9	27.9	18.1	23.3

TABLE VIII (Cont.)

Counties	Percentage of Households				
	$0-2,999	$3,000-4,999	$5,000-7,999	$8,000-9,000	$10,000+
Livingston	18.5	12.4	25.0	16.1	28.0
Luce	27.5	16.3	27.0	9.5	19.7
Mackinac	26.4	20.5	27.8	10.9	14.4
Macomb	7.0	7.1	23.7	21.0	41.2
Manistee	19.9	12.3	26.2	17.8	23.8
Marquette	19.4	16.7	35.5	15.0	13.4
Mason	21.0	14.8	24.3	17.1	22.8
Mecosta	29.3	16.6	25.7	11.9	16.5
Menominec	26.9	22.5	32.1	9.4	9.1
Midland	14.3	7.5	19.6	21.4	37.2
Missaukee	30.4	19.8	26.8	9.1	13.9
Monroe	15.9	12.1	32.4	17.3	22.3
Montcalm	24.7	15.8	28.0	14.1	17.4
Montmorency	35.5	18.9	21.2	12.6	11.8
Muskegon	15.3	10.3	31.0	19.3	24.1
Newaygo	26.8	15.2	26.5	13.8	17.7
Oakland	7.4	6.6	20.8	18.0	47.2
Oceana	23.7	13.2	23.0	15.7	24.4
Ogemaw	31.8	18.5	23.8	10.6	15.3
Ontonagon	27.6	16.3	33.1	13.4	9.6
Osceola	27.4	15.9	29.2	12.2	15.3
Oscoda	31.5	14.3	25.3	11.6	17.3
Otsego	21.7	15.3	31.8	18.3	16.9
Ottawa	13.6	10.3	31.7	18.6	25.8
Presque Isle	22.2	13.9	25.7	15.7	22.5
Roscommon	29.6	15.2	23.2	12.7	19.3
Saginaw	15.5	10.0	29.4	17.5	27.6
St. Clair	20.4	11.8	24.0	16.9	26.9
St. Joseph	19.8	13.0	26.7	15.1	25.4
Sanilac	26.0	17.9	27.0	11.9	17.2
Schoolcraft	29.9	19.0	32.8	10.3	8.0
Shiawassee	17.5	11.1	27.8	16.3	27.3
Tuscola	21.3	14.9	30.1	13.1	20.6
Van Buren	24.6	14.0	27.2	14.3	19.9
Washtenaw	14.4	9.3	19.5	15.6	41.2
Wayne	12.1	9.5	24.2	17.5	36.7
Wexford	22.9	14.7	28.4	14.6	19.4
State Total	14.3	10.3	25.6	14.2	32.6

* Source: Sales Management Magazine, Survey of Buying Power, June 10, 1968.

Data on income by race are available for the year, July 1968 - June 1969, for both the city of Detroit and an area in the central city, heavily populated by Blacks. This special study, one of five covering major cities in the nation, was conducted by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor. Table IX shows data for the entire city of Detroit and Table X data for the survey area. In the entire city of Detroit, 2.7 percent of families with four or more members and 12.7 percent of the Negro families of similar size had incomes under $3,500. Of the white families with four or more members, 5.8 percent as compared with 20.9 percent of Negro families of four members or more had annual incomes under $5,000.

About one-fifth of the Negro and other races families and 15.3 percent of the white families with four or more members had annual incomes of $5,000 to $7,999. Almost four-fifths (78.9 percent) and nearly three-fifths of the Negro families had annual incomes of $8,000 or more. However, three-fifths of the white families (59.8 percent) slightly over two-fifths (42.3 percent) of the Negro families with four or more members had annual incomes of $10,000 or more. The median annual incomes of white families with four or more members was $11,218 as compared with $8,909 for similar size Negro families. The annual median income of Negro families was 79.4 percent of that for white families of this size.

Of the families with two or more members in the city of Detroit, one-fifth (19.9 percent) of the white families and one-fourth (26 percent) had annual incomes under $5,000. Slightly over three-fifths (62 percent) of the white families of this size as compared with about one-half (51.6 percent) had annual incomes in excess of $8,000. In the $10,000 plus annual income group, there were over two-fifths (43.9 percent) of the white families and over one-third (35.9 percent) Negro families. The median income for white families of two or more members was $9,217 and $8,217 for Negro families of this size. The annual median income of Negro families with two or more members was 89.1 percent of that for white families of similar size.

Table IX Annual Income of Families and Unrelated Individuals in Detroit Survey Area and Entire City by Race, July 1968 - June 1969.* (Cont'd.)

Entire City of Detroit

Money Income	All Families	White	Negroes and Other Races
FAMILIES (2 OR MORE MEMBERS)			
Total - Number	370,400	222,700	147,700
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0
0 - $3,499	13.2	11.7	15.8
$3,500 - 4,999	9.0	8.2	10.2
$5,000 - 7,999	19.8	18.2	22.2
$8,000 - 9,999	17.3	18.1	16.0
$10,000 - or more	40.7	43.9	35.9
Median income	$8,847	$9,217	$8,217
FAMILIES (4 OR MORE MEMBERS)			
Total - Number	150,000	83,500	66,300
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0
0 - $3,499	7.3	2.7	12.7
$3,500 - 4,999	5.8	3.1	8.2
$5,000 - 7,999	17.9	15.3	21.5
$8,000 - 9,999	17.3	19.1	15.3
$10,000 - or more	51.6	59.8	42.3
Median income	$10,103	$11,218	$8,909
UNRELATED INDIVIDUALS			
Total - Number	139,600	86,000	53,600
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0
0 - $3,499	53.4	54.6	51.5
$3,500 - 4,999	11.1	10.8	11.4
$5,000 - 7,999	21.0	20.5	21.6
$8,000 - 9,999	7.7	7.3	8.6
$10,000 - or more	6.8	6.8	6.9
Median income	$3,224	$3,151	$3,378

* The sum of the individual items may not equal the total due to rounding.

Source: Poverty - The Broad Outline, Detroit, Urban Employment Survey No. 1, Detroit, U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, North Central Region, pp. 41.

In the Detroit survey areas -- the Concentrated Employment Program (CEP) area -- as indicated by Table IX, one-fifth of both white and Negro families with four or more members had annual incomes under $3,500. Over one-third (36 percent) of the white families of this size had annual incomes under $5,000 as compared with one-third (33.4 percent) of the Negro families. Nearly half (48 percent) of the white families and over two-fifths (42.6 percent) of the Negro families with four or more members had annual incomes of $8,000 or more. About one-third of the white families of this size in the survey area had annual incomes of $10,000 compared to 26.9 percent of the Negro families. The median annual income of white families of this size was $7,000 and $7,318 for Negor families. Thus, the annual median income of Negro families with four or more members was 104.5 of that of white families in the Detroit survey area.

The proportion of both white and Negro families with two or more members in the survey area with annual incomes under $3,500 was about the same for both groups, 26.2 percent of the white families and 27.8 percent of the Negro families. Similarly, about two-fifths of families in both groups had annual incomes under $5,000. 35.7 percent of the white families and 34.8 percent of the Negro families with two or more members had annual incomes in excess of $8,000. Slightly over one-fifth (21.4 percent) of the white families and about one-fifth (19.6 percent) of the Negro families had annual incomes over $10,000. The median annual income of such white families was $6,313, compared to $6,166 for Negro families. In the survey area, Negro families of two or more members had an annual median income which was 97.6 percent of that of white families of similar size.

Table X Annual Income of Families and Unrelated Individuals in Detroit Survey Area and Entire City by Race, July 1968 - June 1969.*

Detroit Survey Area

Money Income	All Families	White	Negroes and Other Races
FAMILIES (2 OR MORE MEMBERS)			
Total - Number	31,400	8,300	23,000
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0
0 - $3,499	26.8	26.2	27.8
$3,500 - 4,999	12.8	13.1	13.0
$5,000 - 7,999	24.9	25.0	24.3
$8,000 - 9,999	15.3	14.3	15.2
$10,000 - or more	20.1	21.4	19.6
Median income	$6,346	$6,313	$6,166
FAMILIES (4 OR MORE MEMBERS)			
Total - Number	13,300	2,400	10,900
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0
0 - $3,499	18.8	20.0	20.4
$3,500 - 4,999	12.8	16.0	13.0
$5,000 - 7,999	24.1	16.0	24.1
$8,000 - 9,999	16.5	16.0	15.7
$10,000 - or more	27.8	32.0	26.9
Median income	$7,423	$7,000	$7,318
UNRELATED INDIVIDUALS			
Total - Number	26,800	12,100	14,700
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0
0 - $3,499	66.5	64.7	68.0
$3,500 - 4,999	10.4	11.8	8.8
$5,000 - 7,999	15.2	13.4	17.7
$8,000 - 9,999	4.5	5.9	3.4
$10,000 - or more	3.3	4.2	2.0
Median income	$2,119	$2,374	$1,986

* The sum of the individual items may not equal the total due to rounding.

Source: Poverty - The Broad Outline, Detroit, Urban Employment Survey, Report No. 1, Detroit, U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, North Central Region, pp. 40.

Another comparison of income between Michigan and the United States is average weekly earnings and average hourly earnings in manufacturing industries (Table XI). Michigan is a high wage paying state. Between 1960 and 1970 average weekly earnings in Michigan increased from $112.00 to $168.24, a gain of 50 percent; average hourly earnings also rose 50 percent from $2.75 to $4.14. In the Nation's manufacturing industry, average weekly wage increased from $89.72 to $133.74 a gain of 50 percent; average hourly earnings also increased of 50 percent from $2.26 to $3.36.

As noted both average weekly and hourly earnings in manufacturing are higher in Michigan than for the United States as a whole. Table XI also show both these earnings as a percent of the United States. During the period 1960-70 the average weekly earnings in Michigan, on the average, were 27.5 percent higher than those for the United States. The low point was 1961 when Michigan's average weekly earnings were one fifth higher (121) than those for the United States. The high point was in 1965 and 1968 when Michigan's weekly earnings were a third higher (133) than those for the United States. Average hourly earnings in Michigan during this period were, on the average, 22 percent higher than the average hourly earnings for manufacturing industry in the United States. In 1961, Michigan's average hourly earnings were one fifth more than those for the United States, (120) which was the low point. In 1968, they were a fourth higher (125) than the United States.

TABLE XI

AVERAGE WEEKLY AND HOURLY EARNINGS IN MANUFACTURING,

MICHIGAN AND U.S., 1960 - 1970

	Michigan		United States		Michigan As Percent of U.S.	
Year	Average Weekly Earnings	Average Hourly Earnings	Average Weekly Earnings	Average Hourly Earnings	Average Weekly Earnings	Average Hourly Earnings
1960	$112.00	$2.75	$89.72	$2.26	124	121
1961	112.32	2.80	92.34	2.32	121	120
1962	121.43	2.91	96.56	2.39	125	121
1963	128.27	3.02	99.63	2.46	128	122
1964	135.11	3.11	102.97	2.53	131	122
1965	143.79	3.22	107.53	2.61	133	123
1966	145.10	3.35	112.34	2.72	129	123
1967	145.78	3.47	114.90	2.83	126	122
1968	164.15	3.79	122.51	3.01	133	125
1969	166.78	3.97	129.51	3.19	128	124
1970	168.24	4.14	133.74	3.36	125	123

SOURCE: Michigan data from Michigan Employment Security Commission. U.S. data from U.S. Department of Commerce, Office of Business Economics. Data for December, 1970 are preliminary.

The sources of personal income in Michigan have changed rather significantly in the period 1960 and 1970 (Table XII). In both years, the largest source of personal income was from wages and salaries in manufacturing. However, the proportion of the State's personal income from this source declined from 35 percent in 1960 to 29 percent in 1970. The second major source of wages and salaries in 1960 was wholesale and retail trade, which accounted for 10 percent of personal income in 1960 and 10.3 percent in 1970. The second major source of wages and salaries in 1970 was government employment -- Federal, state, and local -- with 10.6 percent; in 1960, this sector accounted for 8.8 percent. During this period, state and local governments' share rose from 6.9 percent to 8.8 percent.

Proprietors income declined from 9.3 percent in 1960 to 7.2 percent in 1970. Property income, however, accounted for 12 percent of the State's total in 1960 and 13.3 percent in 1970. Transfer payments, which includes Social Security benefits and welfare payments, increased from 6.5 percent in 1960 to 8.7 percent in 1970.

TABLE XII

MICHIGAN PERSONAL INCOME BY MAJOR SOURCES
1960 and 1970
(in millions of dollars)

	1960	Percent	1970	Percent
Total Personal Income	18,203	100	36,658	100
Wage and Salary Disbursements	12,837	100	25,868	100
Farms	55	.3	48	.1
Mining	96	.5	113	.3
Contract Construction	570	3.1	1,412	3.8
Manufacturing	6,342	34.8	10,602	28.9
Wholesale & Retail Trade	1,829	10.0	3,807	10.3
Finance, Insurance & Real Estate	388	2.1	868	2.3
Transportation, Communications & public utilities	819	4.4	1,419	3.8
Services	1,119	6.1	2,856	7.7
Government	1,603	8.8	3,912	10.6
Federal Civilan	248	1.3	520	1.4
Federal Military	97	.5	158	.4
State & Local	1,258	6.9	3,234	8.8
Other Labor Income	668	3.6	2,020	5.5
Proprietors Income	1,697	9.3	2,663	7.2
Farm	237	1.3	285	.7
Non-Farm	1,460	8.0	2,378	6.4
Property Income	2,198	12.0	4,902	13.3
Transfer payments	1,192	6.5	3,209	8.7
Less: Personal Contributions for Social Ins.	389	2.1	1,205	3.2

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Commerce, Office of Business Economics

Employment

One of the critical employment problems in Michigan is that the labor force is growing faster than the State's ability to provide employment. During the years 1960 to 1970, the State's labor force increased 23.8 percent, from 2.9 million to 3.7 million (Table XIII). The number of employed increased from 2.8 million to 3.4 million, a gain of 22.3 percent. The non-farm labor force increased 25.9, from 2.9 million to 3.6 million. Total non-farm employment also increased 25 percent, from 2.7 million to 3.3 million. As is well known, agricultural employment has been declining both nationally and in the State. Between 1960 and 1970, agricultural employment declined 40 percent, from 93,700 to 56,200. In all probability, it will continue to decline as a result of mechanization of crops. Self employment declined 8.5 percent, from 314,500 to 287,500 in the period 1960 - 70, while wage and salary workers increased from 2.4 million to 3.0 million, a gain of 28.9 percent.

TABLE XIII

MICHIGAN LABOR FORCE AND EMPLOYMENT ESTIMATES (IN THOUSANDS)

	1960	1970	% Change
Total Labor Force	2,959.0	3,664.3	+23.8
Employed	2,758.9	3,374.5	+22.3
Unemployed	198.6	253.7	+27.7
Agricultural Employment	93.7	56.2	-40.0
Non-Farm Labor Force	2,865.3	3,608.1	+25.9
Total Non-Farm Employment	2,665.2	3,318.3	+24.5
Self Employment	314.5	287.5	-8.5
Wage and Salary Workers	2,350.7	3,030.8	+28.9

Source: Economic Report of the Governor, Michigan, 1971.

Table XIV shows the distribution of wage and salary workers by industrial classification for both 1960 and 1970. Of particular significance is that service type industries are providing increasing employment opportunities for Michigan's work force. The highest percent increase was in services -- a whopping gain of 62 percent in that decade. Public employment increased 55 percent between 1960 and 1970. Manufacturing employment only increased by 11.4 percent.

The importance of this modest increase can be seen in Table XV. In 1960, manufacturing establishments accounted for 51.5 percent of the employees of non-farm establishments. By 1970, manufacturing industries accounted for 45.8 percent of non-farm employees. Equally disturbing is that the absolute growth in the number of employees in manufacturing establishments between 1960 and 1970 totalled only 149,000, or an annual average of 13,545. The importance of manufacturing as a source of employment has been declining in Michigan. This helps to explain, in part, the high levels of unemployment which the State has been experiencing.

TABLE XIV

WAGE AND SALARY WORKERS (IN THOUSANDS)

	1960	1970	% Change
Total Manufacturing	967.6	1,078.8	+11.4
Durable Goods	770.6	863.3	+9.5
Motor Vehicles & Equipment	311.2	388.0	+8.6
Non-Durable Goods	197.0	215.5	+9.3
Total Non-Manufacturing Industries	1,050.4	1,436.3	+36.7
Contruction	97.2	121.3	+24.7
Transportation, Communications & Utilities	140.4	149.9	+6.7
Wholesale Trade	102.9	141.4	+37.4
Retail Trade	348.0	465.3	+33.7
Finance, Real Estate & Insurance	82.8	119.0	+43.7
Services	263.7	427.4	+62.0
Mining	15.5	12.0	-22.5
Total Government	332.7	515.7	+55.0
Federal	46.3	57.2	+23.5
State	71.1	113.2	+59.2
Local	215.3	345.3	+60.3

Source: Economic Report of the Governor, Michigan, 1971.

TABLE XV

EMPLOYEES ON PAYROLLS OF NON-AGRICULTURAL AND MANUFACTURING ESTABLISHMENTS IN MICHIGAN 1960 - 1970
(in thousands)

Year	Non-Agricultural Establishments	Manufacturing Establishments	Percent Manufacturing
1960	2,351	1,211	51.5
1961	2,247	1,165	51.8
1962	2,337	1,199	51.3
1963	2,412	1,204	49.9
1964	2,518	1,238	49.1
1965	2,687	1,302	48.4
1966	2,862	1,393	48.6
1967	2,904	1,393	47.9
1968	2,978	1,387	46.5
1969	3,077	1,404	45.6
1970	2,969	1,360	45.8

SOURCE: Manpower Report of the President, 1971 p. 266

During the period 1960 and 1970, the unemployment rate in Michigan has been higher than that for the United States in each year except 1963, 1964, 1965 and 1966. Employment in Michigan's industries is more sensitive to level of economic activities because of the large proportion of workers engaged in durable goods manufacturing.

Table XVI compares the unemployment rates for the United States and Michigan for the years 1960 - 70. In 1970, the national unemployment rate was 4.9 percent compared to 7.0 percent in Michigan. Put another way, the Michigan rate was 143 percent of the U.S. rate.

Table XVII shows that there has been variations in the rates of unemployment in the State's major labor markets during the period 1960 - 70. Moreover, there are variations between the State's unemployment rate and these major labor markets. For example, the unemployment rate in Muskegon and Muskegon Heights in each year was higher than the State rate.

TABLE XVI

TOTAL UNEMPLOYMENT RATES
UNITED STATES AND MICHIGAN 1960 - 70

Year	United States	Michigan
1960	5.5	6.7
1961	6.7	10.2
1962	5.5	6.9
1963	5.7	5.5
1964	5.2	4.8
1965	4.5	3.9
1966	3.8	3.5
1967	3.8	4.5
1968	3.6	4.3
1969	3.5	4.0
1970	4.9	7.0

SOURCE: Manpower Report of the President, 1971

TABLE XVII

TOTAL UNEMPLOYMENT RATES IN MICHIGAN'S MAJOR LABOR AREAS: ANNUAL AVERAGES 1960-70

	1970	1969	1968	1967	1966	1965	1964	1963	1962	1961	1960
Michigan	7.0	4.0	4.3	4.5	3.5	3.9	4.8	5.5	6.9	10.2	6.7
Battle Creek	6.2	3.8	4.1	4.0	3.1	3.8	4.6	5.4	6.3	7.9	5.9
Detroit	6.6	3.6	3.9	4.1	3.2	3.5	4.3	5.2	7.0	10.9	6.8
Flint	8.0	3.6	3.5	3.4	3.4	2.7	3.3	3.3	4.2	8.9	5.0
Grand Rapids	6.5	4.5	3.8	4.1	3.2	2.8	3.9	4.3	4.6	6.2	4.9
Kalamazoo	5.2	3.3	3.6	3.4	3.0	3.1	3.5	4.5	4.5	5.7	4.7
Lansing	5.8	2.7	3.1	2.7	2.4	2.2	3.4	4.2	4.5	7.9	4.2
Muskegon-Muskegon Hts	9.4	5.9	6.7	5.1	3.8	4.5	6.0	5.6	6.2	9.2	7.8
Saginaw	5.6	3.5	3.5	4.2	2.8	2.4	2.7	3.9	5.1	8.8	5.2
United States	4.9	3.5	3.6	3.8	3.8	4.5	5.2	5.7	5.5	6.7	5.5

SOURCE: Manpower Report of the President, 1971

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There are available data on the unemployment rates by race in Michigan for the years 1967-70 (Table XVIII.) In 1967, the non-white unemployment rate was 2.44 times the total rate and 3.3 times higher than the unemployment rate for whites. In 1970, the non-white was 1.74 times higher than the state total and twice as high as the white rate. The same pattern applies to the United States data. Blacks and other minorities experience higher unemployment rates than do white workers. As a rule of thumb, the Black unemployment rate is about twice that of whites.

The same pattern of white-Black unemployment can be seen from the data on the Detroit SMSA (table XIX). In each year 1968, 1969 and 1970, the unemployment rate of Blacks was substantially higher than for whites, both in the SMSA and in the Central City of Detroit. In 1970, the most recent year, the Black unemployment rate was 183 percent of the white rate in the SMSA and 195 percent of the white rate in the Central City.

TABLE XVIII

MICHIGAN UNEMPLOYMENT RATE BY COLOR, 1967 - 1970

Year	Total	White	White / Total	Non-White	Non-White / Total	Non-White / White
1967	4.5	3.3	.73	11.0	2.44	3.3
1968	4.3	3.4	.79	8.2	1.90	2.4
1969	4.0	3.5	.87	7.6	1.90	2.1
1970	7.0	6.1	.87	12.2	1.74	2.0

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Manpower Report of the President, 1971, page 284.

TABLE XIX

CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE AND UNEMPLOYMENT RATE IN DETROIT S.M.S.A. AND CENTRAL CITY, BY COLOR, AND SELECTED DATA FOR AGE AND SEX: ANNUAL AVERAGES, 1968 - 1970
(Numbers in thousands)

	Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area						Central City		
	Total	White	Negro and other races	Male 20 years +	Female 20 years +	Both Sexes 16 to 19 years	Total	White	Negro and other races
1968									
Civilian Labor Force	1,600	1,330	270	960	480	160	670	440	230
Unemployed	61	40	21	20	19	21	34	17	17
Unemployment Rate	3.8	3.0	7.5	2.1	3.9	13.6	5.1	3.9	7.3
1969									
Civilian Labor Force	1,650	1,360	290	980	510	170	690	440	250
Unemployed	67	44	23	19	24	25	38	17	21
Unemployment Rate	4.1	3.2	7.9	1.9	4.7	14.6	5.5	3.9	8.5
1970									
Civilian Labor Force	1,690	1,400	290	980	540	170	650	410	240
Unemployed	119	85	33	50	33	35	54	25	29
Unemployment Rate	7.0	6.1	11.4	5.1	6.2	20.3	8.2	6.1	11.9

Source: Manpower Report of the President, 1971
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Educational Levels

The only available data on the education of the State's population are the 1960 census data. The 1970 data on education were not readily available. The Detroit Urban Survey cited earlier contains data on the educational level of the civilian labor force by race and age for both the City of Detroit and the Detroit survey area which are reproduced in Table XX and Table XXI , respectively.

In the City of Detroit, Table XX, 9.8 percent of the civilian labor force 18 years and older had less than an 8th grade education. Seven percent of the whites and 13.4 percent of the Blacks and other races had less than an eigth grade education. Over two-fifths (43.6 percent) of the total civilian labor force 18 years and over had less than 4 years of high school. Nearly two-fifths (38.5 percent) of the white workers had less than 4 years of high school compared to half of the Blacks. Nearly two-fifths (39.2 percent) of the whites and over one-third of the Blacks (35.5 percent) had 4 years of high school. Over one-fifth (22.3 percent) of the whites and one-seventh (14.2 percent) of the Blacks had some college.

In the City of Detroit, over two-fifths (46.0 percent) of the white males 25 years old and over had less than 4 years of high school, whereas three-fifths of the Black males had not completed high school. Over a third (35.8 percent) of the white females and nearly one-half (46.6 percent) Black females 25 years old and over had less than a high school education. One-third (33.3 percent) of the white males and 27.3 percent of the Black males had 4 years of high school. Over two-fifths (44.3 percent) of the white females and 37.3 percent of the Black females had 4 years of high school. One-fifth (20.7 percent) of the white males and 11.8 percent Balck males had some college. A fifth of the white females also had some college, compared to 16.1 percent of Black females.

Table XX Educational Attainment of Civilian Labor Force in Detroit Survey Area and Entire City by Age, Sex, and Race, July 1968 - June 1969.* (Cont'd)

Entire City of Detroit

Educational Level	Both Sexes 18+	Males 25+	Females 25+
Total - Number	587,700	296,900	172,700
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0
Less than 8	9.8	14.1	7.9
8th Grade	9.1	12.1	9.2
1 - 3 years High School	24.7	25.7	23.8
4 years High School	37.6	31.0	41.0
College	18.8	17.1	18.1
Median Years Completed	12.2	11.8	12.2
WHITE			
Total - Number	333,700	178,800	91,300
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0
Less than 8	7.0	9.4	6.0
8th Grade	9.7	12.1	10.4
1 - 3 years High School	21.8	24.5	19.4
4 years High School	39.2	33.3	44.3
College	22.3	20.7	19.8
Median Years Completed	12.3	12.1	12.3
NEGRO & OTHER RACES			
Total - Number	254,000	118,100	81,500
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0
Less than 8	13.4	21.3	9.9
8th Grade	8.4	12.1	7.9
1 - 3 years High School	28.6	27.5	28.8
4 years High School	35.5	27.3	37.3
College	14.2	11.8	16.1
Median Years Completed	12.0	10.8	12.1

* The sum of the individual items may not equal the total due to rounding.

Source: Poverty - The Broad Outline, Detroit, Urban Employment Survey No. 1, Detroit, U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, North Central Region, pp. 43.

In the Survey area, Table XXI, nearly three-fifths (58.8 percent) of the white workers 18 years old and over and two-thirds of the Black workers had less than four years of high school. About one-fourth of both white and Black workers each had 4 years of high school, (26.3 percent of the whites and 26.8 percent of the Blacks). Fifteen percent of the whites had some college compared to 8.2 percent of the Black workers.

Two-thirds (66.7 percent) of the white males 25 years old and over have less than 4 years of high school. By comparison, three-fourths (74.2 percent) of the Blacks has less than 4 years of high school. Slightly over one-fifth (22.6 percent) of the white males and about one-fifth (19.1 percent) of the Black males had 4 years of high school.

Nearly three-fifths (57.5 percent) of the white females 25 years of age and about two-thirds (64.6 percent) of the Black females have less than 4 years of high school. Roughly one-fourth of both groups each had 4 years of high school, 25 percent of the whites and 26.5 percent of the Blacks. The proportion of white females with some college is double that of Black females, 25 years old and over, 17.5 percent of the whites and 8.8 percent of the Blacks.

Table XXI Educational Attainment of Civilian Labor Force in Detroit Survey Area and Entire City by Age, Sex, and Race, July 1968 - June 1969.*

Detroit Survey Area

Educational Level	Both Sexes 18+	Males 25+	Females 25+
Total - Number	52,700	27,000	15,300
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0
Less than 8	19.3	27.0	16.4
8th Grade	11.9	14.4	12.5
1 - 3 years High School	32.0	30.0	34.2
4 years High School	26.5	20.4	26.3
College	10.2	8.1	10.5
Median Years Completed	10.8	9.8	10.8
WHITE			
Total - Number	16,000	9,300	4,000
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0
Less than 8	16.3	20.4	15.0
8th Grade	15.6	18.3	15.0
1 - 3 years High School	26.9	28.0	27.5
4 years High School	26.3	22.6	25.0
College	15.0	10.8	17.5
Median Years Completed	11.1	10.2	11.2
NEGRO & OTHER RACES			
Total - Number	36,700	17,700	11,300
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0
Less than 8	20.5	30.9	16.8
8th Grade	10.4	12.4	11.5
1 - 3 years High School	34.2	30.9	36.3
4 years High School	26.8	19.1	26.5
College	8.2	6.7	8.8
Median Years Completed	10.7	9.6	10.8

* The sum of the individual items may not equal the total due to rounding.

Source: Poverty - The Broad Outline, Detroit, Urban Employment Survey, Report No. 1, Detroit, U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, North Central Region, pp. 42.

Taxes - State and Local

State and local taxes are taking a larger proportion of Michigan's adjusted disposable income (This means personal income less personal taxes and non-tax payments plus local and state personal income taxes). Taxes as used here includes all state taxes, local property and local income taxes. As Table XXII indicates in 1959, local and state taxes as a part of disposable income was just under 10 percent. The percentage began to increase in the early 1960's. In the mid 1960's as a result of high levels of economic activity personal income increased at a faster rate than taxes. Accordingly, the tax share of income declined in the years 1964-1966. In 1967 the tax increases outpaced income gains. The average annual growth rate for adjusted disposable income during the 10-year period was 6.6 percent whereas state and local taxes increased on the average of 9.5 percent annually. During the decade adjusted disposable income increased 90 percent compared to 115 percent gain in local taxes and 180 percent rise in state taxes.

TABLE XXII

MICHIGAN STATE AND LOCAL TAXES IN RELATIONSHIP
TO DISPOSABLE INCOME 1959 - 1969

Fiscal Year	Taxes as a Percent of Disposable Income*
1959	9.9 percent
1960	10.5
1961	11.2
1962	11.0
1963	11.3
1964	10.8
1965	10.5
1966	10.4
1967	10.6
1968	11.7
1969	12.9

*Adjusted to include state and local income taxes

SOURCE: Michigan Bell Business Trends - November, 1970

Poverty Index

Mr. W. E. Vredevoogd, Rural Manpower Center, Michigan State University, has constructed a poverty index for Michigan counties as shown in Table XXIII. The index represents four differenct measures of poverty: (1) The percentage of each county's population earning less than $3,000 annually, (2) the percent of the labor force currently unemployed, (3) the percent of the population with four or less years of schooling, (4) the percentage of homes and dwellings in disrepair. In constructing his index, he used 1960 data or calculations based on these data. The index was constructed in such a way that a high score would indicate high levels of poverty. The counties with a high poverty index generally are located north of a line from Muskegon to Bay City which are primarily rural. The counties with a low poverty index are located in the southern part of the State where the bulk of the State's population resides in urban areas.

TABLE XXIII Poverty Index Scores for Michigan Counties*

	Rank	County	Score		Rank	County	Score
	01	Macomb	29.9		43	Lapeer	73.2
	02	Oakland	30.4		44	Dickinson	75.2
	03	Calhoun	36.5		45	Emmet	75.5
F	04	Ottawa	37.1	T	46	Manistee	76.0
I	05	Kent	37.2	H	47	Menominee	76.8
R	06	Kalamazoo	37.4	I	48	Presque Isle	77.6
S	07	Ingham	37.5	R	49	Van Buren	78.8
T	08	Washtenaw	38.9	D	50	Mason	79.4
	09	Genesee	41.6		51	Montcalm	79.8
Q	10	Midland	43.0	Q	52	Gogebic	80.6
U	11	Berrien	43.1	U	53	Otsego	82.1
A	12	Wayne	45.2	A	54	Iron	82.3
R	13	Muskegon	46.4	R	55	Leelanau	84.0
T	14	St. Clair	47.9	T	56	Roscommon	87.7
I	15	Jackson	48.6	I	57	Oceana	87.8
L	16	Saginaw	49.0	L	58	Crawford	88.5
E	17	Eaton	51.8	E	59	Chippewa	89.3
	18.5	Shiawassee	52.4		60	Missaukee	89.8
	18.5	Bay	52.4		61	Osceola	91.1
	20	St. Joseph	52.8		62	Newaygo	91.5
	21	Clinton	55.1		63	Cheboygan	91.6
	22	Benzie	65.0		64	Antrim	92.0
	23	Monroe	57.1		65	Mecosta	93.7
	24	Allegan	57.3		66	Arenac	95.0
S	25	Ionia	60.6	F	67	Sanilac	95.4
E	26	Livingston	60.8	O	68	Gladwin	96.3
C	27	Charlevoix	62.2	U	69	Mackinac	96.7
O	28	Lenawee	63.3	R	70	Houghton	97.2
N	29.5	Cass	63.6	T	71	Oscoda	99.2
D	29.5	Alpena	63.6	H	72	Ontonagon	99.4
	31	Grand Traverse	63.9		73	Schoolcraft	99.6
Q	32	Barry	64.8	Q	74	Clare	102.6
U	33	Branch	66.4	U	75	Keweenaw	104.2
A	34	Huron	67.4	A	76	Alcona	104.9
R	35	Marquette	68.2	R	77	Luce	106.0
T	36	Hillsdale	68.3	T	78	Kalkaska	107.5
I	37	Isabella	68.7	I	79	Alger	109.9
L	38	Tuscola	70.0	L	80	Ogemaw	111.6
E	39	Iosco	70.4	E	81	Montmorency	115.1
	40	Gratiot	71.6		82	Baraga	126.4
	41	Wexford	71.9		83	Lake	129.5
	42	Delta	72.9				

*Prepared from 1960 census data by W. E. Vredevoogd. The index consists of the sum of 4 percentages, % earning $3,000 or less, % unemployed, % functionally illiterate, % houses in bad repair. Highest possible score is thus 4 X 100% = 400.

Source: Rural Poverty in Michigan, Report No. 21 - Nov. 1970, W. E. Vredevoogd, Rural Manpower Center, Michigan State University, pp. 20.

Welfare Cases

Another social indicator is the number of individuals on AFDC (Aid to Families with Dependent Children in Michigan). The number of cases and the number of children receiving such assistance has increased significantly during the years 1960-1971. In 1960, the average monthly number of cases was 26,580 involving 69,249 children. By 1971, there were 101,039 average (monthly) number of cases with 279,487 children. Thus in this twelve years the number of cases increased 295 percent while the number of children receiving assistance rose 303 percent. (See Table XXIV.)

TABLE XXIV

NUMBER OF AID TO FAMILIES WITH DEPENDENT CHILDREN (AFDC)

MICHIGAN FISCAL YEARS 1960 - 1971

Fiscal Year	Average (monthly) number of cases	Average number (monthly) of children
1960	26,580	69,249
1961	27,481	72,593
1962	31,763	84,093
1963	33,301	89,318
1964	35,067	98,002
1965	39,722	119,500
1966	38,328	117,114
1967	38,477	119,643
1968	44,780	138,449
1969	50,494	153,576
1970	64,696	190,025
1971	101,039	279,487

Source: Department of Social Services, State of Michigan

Student Enrollment

The racial and ethnic composition of the state's population is reflected in the enrollments in the public schools. In both school years 1968-1969 and 1969-1970, the proportion of whites, Blacks, Spanish surnames, and Indians remained about the same. As indicated in Table XXV below, whites accounted for 85 percent of the enrollment, Blacks 13 percent, Spanish surname 1.3 percent, and Indians 0.2 percent. The number of Spanish surname students increased 13 percent during these two years, from 24,933 to 28,051. Although Blacks represent 11.2 percent of the State's population, 13.2 percent of public school enrollment in 1969-70 was Black.

TABLE XXV

RACIAL - ETHNIC ENROLLMENT

MICHIGAN PUBLIC SCHOOLS
1968 - 1970

	1968-69		1969-70		Change 1968-70	
	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent
Spanish-surnamed	24,933	1.2	28,051	1.3	3,118	12.5
Negro	274,272	13.3	283,219	13.2	8,947	3.2
White	1,752,047	85.1	1,821,621	85.0	69,574	3.9
American Indian	4,499	0.2	4,857	0.2	358	0.8

Source: School Racial-Ethnic Census, 1969-70. Michigan Department of Education.

Title I Eligibility

Another rough measure of the socio-economic status of Michigan is the number of eligible students under Title I programs (Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 as amended). In 1971-72, according to the Michigan Department of Education, public school enrollment is estimated to be 2,209,137 students (24.8 percent of the 1970 population census.) Of this number 232,651 students or 10.5 percent are estimated to be eligible for Title I programs. The majority of these students are concentrated in the major cities of the State. For example, Detroit has 85,600 eligible students or 37 percent of the State's total.

The estimated number of students eligible for Title I programs in Michigan is determined as follows: (1) Children in AFDC families receiving more than $2,000; (2) Using 1960 census data, the number of children in families with incomes less than $2,000; (3) All children in foster homes; (4) All children in institutions served by the public schools such as orphanages. The school districts determine which children in their districts are eligible to participate using the above criteria. The annual family income maximum used is roughly $6,000. Although the number of students can be estimated, no data are available as to the number of families represented by the total number of eligible students.

Estimated Expenditures for Public Education

Table XXIV shows the estimated expeditures for public elementary and secondary education for the United States and Michigan for 1968 and 1969. For the United States as a whole, the expenditures per pupil were $750 in 1968 and $834 in 1969, a gain of 11 percent. In Michigan, the expenditures rose from $782 to $821, an increase of 5 percent. On the average, the country is spending more per pupil than is the State of Michigan.

In 1968, the nation spent 4.77 percent of its personal income for elementary and secondary education and 4.93 percent in 1969, a gain of 3.4 percent.

In Michigan by comparison, the expenditure as a percent of percent of personal income rose from 4.85 percent to 4.95 percent, a gain of 2.1 percent. The data show that the gap between expenditures as a percent of personal income for the country as a whole and Michigan narrowing appreciably between 1968 and 1969, from a difference of .08 percent to a difference of .02 percent.

TABLE XXVI

ESTIMATED EXPENDITURES FOR PUBLIC ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION, U.S. AND MICHIGAN, RELATED TO NUMBER OF PUPILS IN AVERAGE DAILY ATTENDANCE AND PERSONAL INCOME: FISCAL YEARS 1968 and 1969

	Total Expenditures (thousands)	Expenditures per Pupil in Average Daily Attendance	Expenditure as A Percent of Personal Income
1968			
U.S.	31,511,051	$750	4.77
Michigan	1,510,000	$782	4.85
1969			
U.S.	35,511,170	$834	4.93
Michigan	1,647,000	$821	4.95

SOURCE: Economic Report of the Governor, Michigan, 1971, page 161

Implications of the data for Public Education:

1. The 1970 population data show a growing Black population, especially in the urban areas. This suggests that the problems of desegregation in the public schools will become accentuated especially in view of the continuous out migration of whites from the central city to the suburbs. The State Department of Education must assume its general leadership role as provided in the State's Constitution in providing high quality equal educational opportunity.
2. The 1970 population data show that smaller urban cities in the southern part of the state have experienced significant increases in Black population. This suggest the need to expand in-service training programs for the teaching staffs of those districts in the broad area of sensitivity and awareness.
3. The relative large proportion of workers both white and Black with less than a high school diploma suggest the need for more relevant educational programs that will reduce the number of school dropouts, estimated to be 50,000 in 1970. The problem of school dropouts in Michigan is further complicated by in state migration of families with children particularly from the South and Southwest. For example, the number of students with Spanish surnames, while small as a percent of the total student enrollment is growing, at least some proportion of this group of students are dropouts from the migrant stream. Much more attention must be given to the educational problems of the Spanish surname students who must adjust to a new social environment in Michigan.

4. School districts in sparsely settled areas, especially in both the Northern part of the Lower Peninsula and in the upper Peninsula just do not have the economic base to generate sufficient incomes to provide quality education for their students. Steps must be taken to revamp the current method of financing public education which relies heavily on property taxes. The tax base, in too many instances, is a function of history and geography.

5. The rising proportion of adjustable personal income going for taxes may account for the growing number of instances where property owners have rejected increases in millage to support their district school systems. The opportunity to make their collective voice heard is limited so where and when they can exercise their ballot they do so. As noted above, new ways to finance public education must be instituted.

6. The decline in self-employment and the growth in the proportion of wage and salary workers underscore the importance of the job economy. In Michigan and in the nation, self-employment has been declining, while working as an employee in business, industry and government has been steadily increase. As a result, we have become a nation of employees. In Michigan in 1960, 89 percent of the non-farm labor force was composed of employees and by 1970, the porportion of employees was 92 percent. Consequently, the job has become the most important economic activity in the lives of most Americans because it is the job which provides the central means of earning income, income to pay taxes to support the public education system. This development puts into sharp focus the need to have students who can read, write and do arithmetic well. These are basic skills which can improve the employability of students,

most of whom will eventually enter the world of work. The public school system must take this important fact in consideration in curriculum development and emphases.

7. The changing nature of employment from goods producing to services suggest the need for more emphasis on social and interpersonal skills in school curriculum as well as on the three R's.
8. Since Michigan is a high wage paying state, it must be recognized that newcomers (Blacks from the South, farmworkers dropping out of of the migrant stream) to the state may have their income increased significantly due to employment in high paying but relatively unskilled jobs. Consequently, federal guidelines for compensatory programs may negate participation of those school districts which need special remedial programs but whose family incomes disqualify them. There is therefore need to develop guidelines for Federal programs which use other criteria in addition to income.

In summary the socio-economic indicators can serve as a useful guide for the public, the legislature, school boards, school administrators and teaching staffs to analyze their state or local school systems. Analyses standing alone are not enough. Analyses must lead to action which will result in a public school system which meets the needs of the students and the society of which they are a part. In the final analyses the ultimate indicator is the degree to which the student can find a useful and meaningful role for himself in the society.

The next witness will be Mr. Robert McKerr, associate superintendent for business and finance, Michigan Department of Education.

Mr. McKERR. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I, too, will not attempt to read my statement.

Senator MONDALE. Your full statement will appear in the record* as though read, but I wish you would stress those points you think need emphasis here.

STATEMENT OF ROBERT McKERR, ASSOCIATE SUPERINTENDENT, BUSINESS AND FINANCE, MICHIGAN DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

Mr. McKERR. I will be happy to do that, Senator. I will quickly try to do three things. First of all, to provide you with an overall financial frame of reference as it relates to educational finance in Michigan.

Secondly, to very briefly describe the Michigan system of State school aid and then thirdly, to explore the State's future role in the full funding of K–12 education.

I think the first point I'd like to make is that in Michigan the primary responsibility for public education rests with State government and this is made very clear in article 8 of the Michigan constitution.

FINANCIAL FRAMEWORK OF EDUCATION

Let me give you a few figures to try and set the framework.

In Michigan we have 620 operating school districts, of which approximately 530 are K–12 districts. The balance are primary school districts operating less than a K–12 program.

In 1969–70, the 620 operating districts spent over $2,087 million, and this is double what was spent 7 years before when the total was a little over 1 billion dollars.

Senator MONDALE. The expenditure has doubled?

Mr. McKERR. In 7 years, yes, sir.

Senator MONDALE. What is the average per pupil expenditure that year?

Mr. McKERR. 1969–70—$726.

Senator MONDALE. What was it 7 years before?

Mr. McKERR. I don't have that right at my fingers, but it would be roughly half the 1969–70 figure.

Senator MONDALE. So what was the inflationary impact in the last 7 years, do you suppose? Something like 50 percent?

Mr. McKERR. I suppose.

Senator MONDALE. In any event, it's clear that the spending increases of the schoolchildren of Detroit have been affected by inflation.

Mr. McKERR. There's no question about that. The figures I gave you were for all education at K–12 levels, not just operating but debt service and building.

But of the $2 billion, $1,688 million was for operation. One of the things I'd like to point out is the property valuation variations in the State of Michigan, where we have some districts with a State-equalized valuation of as low as $2,000, and some with more than $72,000.

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*See prepared statement on p. 9467.

If you will take a look at table I when you have an opportunity, I have listed the 10 highest SEV districts in the State, and the 10 lowest, and you can check the per pupil expenditures of these two groupings. In the case of one high valuation district—Dearborn—it's almost double the Holton Public School District, and yet their general operating tax levy is approximately the same, Dearborn being slightly higher.

I should point out that the Forsyth and Rudyard School District are federally impacted areas, so although they have low valuations, they receive substantial amounts of Federal aid because they are impacted.

Taxes Continue To Rise

Michigan school districts, in an effort to meet the ever-rising cost, have continued to raise their local property taxes. For example, in 1965–66, the average statewide operating rate was 17.5 mills. In 1969–70, 23.5, and last year it increased to 24.75 mills.

So you can see that districts are having to continue to raise their local property tax in order to meet the increased cost of education.

We are finding problems in Michigan, because of an increasing resistance on the part of local property taxpayers to pass a higher millage rate. For example, in 1970–71, there were 603 operation millage elections, and 229 or 38 percent were defeated.

I have to say, in honesty and candor, in most instances the school districts will go back to the voters a second, third, or fourth time, and finally secure some additional operating money.

So I don't want to leave you with the thought that 38 percent of the school districts in the State, or anything of that nature, did not secure additional operating funds.

Another indication of the kinds of financial problems Michigan has is that in 1969–70, 70 school districts ended the fiscal year with a general fund equity deficit that totaled approximately $9 million. This is an equity deficit, which means that actually, on their balance sheet, their liabilities exceeded their assets, and this is not to be confused with a deficit budget, and in my opinion is an even more serious matter.

I also would like to point out that during the last 10 years, the State has not stood still in its efforts to provide additional funds to local school districts. For example, during that period—and this is in table 2—the State has increased State school aid to local school districts for operations from $322 million to $684 million, or an increase of 112.4 percent.

And during the same period of time, the pupil membership in the State has gone up only 29.1 percent. Yet the truth of the matter is that the State's share of general fund operations has actually dropped in this period in percentage terms, from 52.7 percent to 43.5 percent.

In other words, the general fund operating expenditures of the school districts have increased 157.2 percent during this same 10-year period. This is one of the real frustrations we have at the State level, the legislature continues to appropriate State funds, and yet our percentage of total participation continues to go down.

And in addition to the appropriations for State school aid for operation, the State assumes the employers share of retirement and

Social Security. This has increased substantially during this period from $38.5 million to over $149 million for 1969–70. For the current year, the cost of retirement and Social Security is estimated to be $209 million.

Michigan System of School Aid

I am not going to take a great deal of time on the Michigan system of State school aid. It's very similar to systems in other States.

We have what we call a basic membership formula, which attempts to equalize revenues between so-called high valuation and low valuation districts. It's a two-part membership formula, with a gross allowance for the A formula of $559.50, with a deductible factor of 14 mills, which is applied against the district-State equalized valuation and subtracted from this and gives a net membership. The B formula has a gross allowance of $661.50, with a deductible factor of 20 mills.

There are some examples shown as an exhibit in my statement, which you may want to look at.

But frankly, there are three problems with equalization. First of all, in the 1970–71 State School Air Act, the legislature added what we call a grandfather provision to the membership formula which says in effect that a district shall receive a net membership allowance no smaller in 1970–71 than it received in 1969–70.

So this had an effect of freezing a large number of primarily high valuation districts at the net membership allowance of the previous year, even though they may have had a substantial increase in local ability to raise taxes.

So that is one factor that tends to unequalize it, if you will.

The second factor in school districts can levy additional millage in Michigan. Even if you have equalization in the formula, high valuation districts can raise more money at the local level than can low valuation districts with the same millage levy.

Third, Michigan has several with categorical programs, and we find that the high valuation districts are better able to participate in most of our categorical programs than the low valuations because there are matching provisions. So overall, there is quite a disparity. I am not going to say anything about the compensatory education program primarily because Mr. Edmonds did, and I understand Dr. Kearney will be testifying next week on this subject. I am sure Dr. Kearney will have something to say about the compensatory education program.

However, let me answer one question you did ask Mr. Edmonds, and he was unable to answer. If the existing section 3 program were fully funded, that is all students below the 15th percentile, it would cost $38 million, as compared with an appropriation of $23 million.

Michigan has a municipal overburden section, as many urban States do.

Last, let me just say something very briefly about what is happening in Michigan in K–12 educational financing today.

There has been recently a strong movement in the State toward full State funding. In 1968, Michigan completed a comprehensive school finance study entitled "School Finance and Educational Op-

portunity in Michigan," under the direction of Dr. J. Alan Thomas of the University of Chicago.

This was 3 years ago. And in the study, Dr. Thomas presented four basic formulas for possible use in State-aid distribution.

Formulas for Aid Distribution

All of these formulas involved a local contribution. Dr. Thomas did identify the possibility of going to a statewide property tax, and identified this as a radical approach. Three years ago it was a radical approach, but today there is great movement in Michigan to go beyond this approach.

For example, the State board of education has directed the staff to develop a formula that would provide full State funding. The staff has developed two conceptual papers on this subject, one relating to the revenue aspects, and the second relating to State-aid distribution.

In addition, the Michigan House of Representatives adopted House Joint Resolution GG, several weeks ago, which is a proposed constitutional amendment, that is now in the Michigan State Senate.

This particular amendment, if presented to the people, will give the citizens of Michigan an opportunity to vote on the question of abolishing the property tax at the local level as the primary source of financing education at the local level, and secondly, removing the prohibition against a graduated income tax at the State level, which currently is in the Michigan constitution.

The State board of education officially has gone on record supporting this particular resolution, and as I said, it has passed the Michigan House.

Local educators in Michigan, to a large extent support full State funding of K–12 education. They have developed their own plan. It is called the equal quality plan. Many of the educational groups in Michigan support this plan. This provides full State funding, and is a classroom unit plan, but as I say, it does involve full State funding with some minor local levies for what are identified as enrichment programs.

Last is the most recent joint action of the Governor and the attorney general to file suit in the circuit court of Ingham County, challenging the legality of the property tax as currently utilized for purposes of financing public school education in Michigan. It is expected that the Governor, with the special constitutional power he has, will ask the supreme court to take jurisdiction in this particular case. And it is hoped by some people that the supreme court will issue an opinion before the beginning of the 1972–73 school year.

Senator, with that I will conclude my remarks.

Senator Mondale. Michigan is a fairly typical State insofar as public school support is concerned with a system of State aid, but principally a system which depends upon real estate taxes to support schools.

In fact, in your testimony you say over the past decade the percentage of school costs carried by local school taxes has actually increased?

PERCENTAGE OF COSTS INCREASE

Mr. MCKERR. That's right.

Senator MONDALE. What increase, all costs, including building costs?

Mr. MCKERR. Well, I can't quite answer that, Senator. I can say this, that 10 years ago, the State paid roughly 50 percent. This is just of the operating costs, and this has dropped now to 41.5 percent.

Senator MONDALE. So there has been a 10-perecnt drop in State assistance for the cost of operating local schools?

Mr. MCKERR. That's correct.

Senator MONDALE. And this has increased the percentage supported by local real estate taxes as a result?

Mr. MCKERR. That's correct.

Senator MONDALE. What percentage of local operating costs and building costs are now paid for out of local real estate taxes?

Mr. MCKERR. What percent of total cost?

Senator MONDALE. Yes. If you have that.

Mr. MCKERR. It's about 61 percent, Senator, of total cost.

Senator MONDALE. So that today in Michigan—and I think the difference between building and operating costs is sort of artificial; the costs have to be paid—only about 39 percent of costs of operating schools in Michigan are paid for by State aid?

Mr. MCKERR. State and Federal Government; that's right.

Senator MONDALE. So then one must look to the real estate valuations of a particular district to see its capacity to generate revenues for the schoolchildren of that district.

And what are the extremes in real estate valuations by school districts, based on per-pupil valuations?

Mr. MCKERR. We go from as low as $2,000 to over $72,000. Although I do have to say that the $2,000 areas are federally impacted areas, and maybe $4,000 or $5,000 would be more realistic.

Senator MONDALE. But you have districts which have a valuation of $4,000 or $5,000 per student, and you have other districts in Michigan which have valuations of $70,000 or more per student?

Mr. MCKERR. That's right.

Senator MONDALE. And then in Michigan you have the privilege of asking the citizens to vote whenever your millage level exceeds what—20?

15-MILL LIMIT

Mr. MCKERR. No. In Michigan we have a 15-mill constitutional limit that is allocated between counties, townships, and school districts, and in most school districts they have 7 to 9 mills allocated. So anything above what is allocated must be voted on.

Senator MONDALE. But in addition to low allocation, the low school district arrives at the point where it is privileged to go to the voter and ask for a tax increase sooner than the rich district?

Mr. MCKERR. Right; and for more millage, too.

Senator MONDALE. And that is not an insignificant barrier, is it?

Mr. MCKERR. No; it is not.

Senator MONDALE. I think you pointed out that nearly 40 percent of the bonding measures were defeated. What has this meant in terms of

difference on per-pupil expenditure? What does the highest school district spend per pupil in Michigan? What does the lowest?

Mr. McKERR. In 1969–70, the highest spent approximately $1,250. And the lowest would have been around $500.

Senator MONDALE. $1,250? And the lowest?

Mr. McKERR. $500, or $550.

Senator MONDALE. What was the average?

Mr. McKERR. $726.

Senator MONDALE. So that in Michigan, last year, some school districts were spending $500 more than the average?

Mr. McKERR. That's correct.

Senator MONDALE. Some were spending about $200 or $250 less than the average?

Mr. McKERR. That's correct.

Senator MONDALE. Or a spread of nearly $700 per student between the highest spending school and the lowest spending school.

Have these differences increased as the percentage of State-aid has fallen off?

SPENDING DIFFERENCES INCREASE

Mr. McKERR. I think they have, Senator.

Senator MONDALE. So in terms of inequality of support, those differences have become greater, as State aids have fallen off as a percentage of operating costs?

Mr. McKERR. That's correct. And as we have introduced such things as the so-called grandfather provision.

Senator MONDALE. This is rather typical, too, of State-aid programs?

Mr. McKERR. Right.

Senator MONDALE. What is the average expenditure per pupil in the city of Detroit?

Mr. McKERR. $756.

Senator MONDALE. So that is just above the average?

Mr. McKERR. A little above it, correct.

Senator MONDALE. Where are the high spending districts to be found, those $1,000 and above?

Mr. McKERR. Primarily in the suburbs around Detroit.

Senator MONDALE. The wealthy districts?

Mr. McKERR. Yes.

Senator MONDALE. Where are the lowest spending districts the $500 and $600?

Mr. McKERR. In the upper peninsula and the northern part of the lower peninsula.

Senator MONDALE. These are mining areas? Cut off timber areas? Marginal farm areas?

Mr. McKERR. Yes.

Senator MONDALE. Similar to our situation in northern Minnesota.

Mr. McKERR. I think that's true.

Senator MONDALE. If you took a class of, say, 20, in the rich district that spends $1,250—or, say $1,200—that works out to $24,000 spent in that classroom in a single year.

Considering the difference in public spending for education in Michigan, you can go to the lower school district and they will spend ap-

proximately $11,000 a year on a class of 20 children. You can go to the richest district, and they will spend $24,000 a year on 20 children, or a difference per classroom of something like $13,000.

Is that correct?

Mr. McKerr. Your arithmetic sounds correct, Senator; yes.

Senator Mondale. Certainly that is inequality of financial support, wouldn't you say?

Mr. McKerr. I would have to agree with that.

Senator Mondale. Wouldn't you say that the most money is being spent precisely where the most advantaged children are to be found?

MONEY GOES TO THE ADVANTAGED

Mr. McKerr. I think generally this is true. There are exceptions.

Senator Mondale. Are these upper-middle-class areas?

Mr. McKerr. Generally, with a few exceptions, this is true.

Senator Mondale. These are the same families that can afford decent health care and fine housing and other kinds of assistance for their children, are they not?

Mr. McKerr. I think generally this is correct.

Senator Mondale. And the poorest districts, that is, the districts in which the least is spent, are the same districts where the family income levels are least able to take care of the children's other needs.

Mr. McKerr. I am not quite sure that that is as clear, because we are talking about a geographic difference here.

Senator Mondale. $756 was Detroit?

Mr. McKerr. That's correct.

Senator Mondale. Does that include all kinds of Federal assistance?

Mr. McKerr. Yes.

Senator Mondale. Within some of the ghetto schools you have some concentration of programs, don't you?

Mr. McKerr. Yes.

Senator Mondale. How high do those spending levels get?

Mr. McKerr. I do not know.

Senator Mondale. When you get back, will you send us information* on two or three ghetto schools where they have concentrated Title I, and maybe Section 3, and tell us how high the spending levels get?

Mr. McKerr. Certainly.

Senator Mondale. Thank you very much.

Mr. McKerr. Thank you, Senator.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF ROBERT N. McKERR

INTRODUCTION

Mr. Chairman, and members of the committee, on behalf of the Michigan State Board of Education and the Superintendent of Public Instruction, I am pleased to have this opportunity to discuss school financing in Michigan. The purpose of this presentation is to do the following three things:

(1) To provide you an overall financial frame of reference as it relates to Michigan K–12 educational finance,

(2) To describe the Michigan system of state school aid, and

(3) To briefly explore the state's future role in the funding of K–12 education.

In the public sector, the federal, state and local levels of government share in

*See Part 19C, Appendix 1.

the responsibility for financing education. In Michigan, the primary responsibility for all forms of public education rests with state government. This is pointed out in the second section of Article VIII of the Michigan Constitution which reads as follows:

"The Legislature shall maintain and support a system of free elementary and secondary schools as defined by law. Every school district shall provide for education of its pupils without discrimination as to religion, creed, race, color or national origin."

Based on this section, Michigan has developed a dual system of financial support for K–12 education which is the general practice in most states of the nation. However, more and more pressure is developing for the state to assume the cost now borne by local school districts.

I. MICHIGAN PUBLIC SCHOOL FINANCIAL PICTURE

Clearly, there are many challenges facing education including the financial crisis confronting the 620 operating school districts in Michigan. The most overriding challenge is the urgent necessity to eliminate the existing disparity in per pupil educational expenditures. This is not to say that our goal should be an identical per pupil expenditure throughout the state. There are special needs of children in areas such as special education, compensatory education and career education that must be met.

This financial crisis represents a clear and present danger to the lives of thousands of school youngsters, to their parents, to the political stability and economic prosperity of the entire Michigan community, and to the good reputation of the state.

Often one's fellow citizens, confronted with other problems, both public and personal, do not have the facts and figures relating to many public issues. One of my purposes this morning is to identify many of the facts and figures that trouble all of us and that have led informed people to describe the present state of affairs as "the financial crisis in Michigan public education."

At the present time, there are 620 operating school districts in Michigan with an estimated enrollment of 2,214,000. The total operating capital outlay expenditures for all districts in 1969–70, the last year for which we have figures, represented an investment of $2,087,299,354, having grown in seven years from $1,002,447,999.

These districts depend basically, upon three sources of funds for operating purposes. In 1969–70, the state contributed almost 40.5 cents of every dollar for operation; the local district 55.5 cents; and the federal government, 4.0 cents. The school districts raise almost all of their revenue from property taxes.

The property valuations in the 620 districts vary considerably, ranging from approximately $2,000 per school child to more than $72,000. This results in significant inequalities in educational expenditures as is shown in Table 1. High valuation districts with relatively low operating levies are able to expend considerably more per pupil than are low valuation districts. The Rudyard School District is an exception because it is a federally impacted area and received $299.73 in per pupil revenue in 1969–70 from the federal government.

The Michigan Constitution provides, with some important exceptions, that millage rates beyond 15 mills have to win the approval of the voters. The 15 mills are divided among the school districts, counties and townships. In most cases, the schools have an allocated millage of seven, eight, or nine mills. To obtain additional revenue, school boards have to submit the issue to the voters.

In 1969–70, the average millage levied for operating purposes was 23.5. Three years before, the figure was 17.5. For 1970–71, this figure was 24.75. Even in the school districts that have a property valuation above the statewide average, considerable voter resistance is encountered when it has become necessary to increase the millage rate.

The schools have to have buildings and this financial responsibility rests almost exclusively on the local districts and the property tax. Most commonly the property tax is used to repay bonds that have been sold to finance buildings.

When one looks at the combined figures for operations and for buildings, he finds that by far the greatest burden falls on the local districts. In 1969–70, for every revenue dollar, the district contributed 61.0 cents; the state 35.7 cents; and the federal government, 3.3 cents.

TABLE 1.—THE 10 HIGHEST AND LOWEST K-12 SCHOOL DISTRICTS IN MICHIGAN RANKED ACCORDING TO STATE EQUALIZED VALUATION PER STATE AID MEMBERSHIP 1969–70

County	SEV/State aid member	Rank	District	Net operating per pupil general fund expenditure	Milage rate total operation	Debt retirement millages
Leelanau	$65,111	1	Leland public schools	$909.31	14.03	
Wayne	57,093	2	River Rouge	1,084.22	20.90	1.61
Bay	50,328	3	Essexville Hampton	762.21	13.0	4.75
Huron	49,643	4	Caseville	877.35	19.25	
Wayne	47,420	5	Riverview Community	925.33	18.9	3.0
Gogebic	42,384	6	Watersmeet	1,079.71	16.78	
Wayne	40,241	7	Ecorse	996.42	18.4	
Do	40,041	8	Dearborn	1,148.23	22.9	.25
Cheboygan	38,596	9	Mackinaw City	654.31	15.0	1.5
Otsego	38,166	10	Johannesburg	842.84	16.0	6.0
Newaygo	5,867	518	Hesperia	632.17	17.5	9.5
Muskegon	5,694	519	Fruitport	626.60	22.2	7.0
Delta	5,529	520	Bark River Harris	666.20	12.36	8.2
Muskegon	5,655	521	Holton Public School	583.61	19.2	7.5
Alger	5,386	522	Mathias	642.63	27.1	
Houghton	5,084	523	Adams Township	649.67	26.15	
Alger	4,752	524	Rock River Township	616.13	16.1	7.0
Muskegon	4,172	525	Oakridge	572.59	20.0	10.0
Marquette	2,269	526	Forsyth	692.67	12.0	1.9
Chippewa	2,159	527	Rudyard	813.03	12.0	6.0

Source: Department of Education, Oct. 19, 1971.

TABLE 2.—STATEWIDE STATISTICAL SCHOOL DISTRICT DATA FOR THE SCHOOL YEARS 1960–61 THROUGH 1969–70

School years	Membership	SEV/member	Average operating millage	General fund current operating expenditure	Total State aid [1]	State aid Percent of current operation
1960–61	1,676,404	$14,835	[2] 17.4	$611,633,959	$322,342,327	52.7
1961–62	1,733,705	14,537	[2] 17.8	651,289,175	311,878,940	47.9
1962–63	1,794,045	14,037	[2] 18.3	691,489,615	339,847,741	49.1
1963–64	1,856,895	13,893	[2] 19.1	737,201,220	352,221,558	47.7
1964–65	1,917,851	13,739	[2] 20.1	804,918,730	383,357,421	47.6
1965–66	1,968,413	13,758	16.4	918,942,525	446,761,050	48.6
1966–67	2,033,982	13,868	17.5	1,077,546,101	524,927,684	48.7
1967–68	2,079,704	14,373	19.7	1,239,752,894	554,838,410	44.7
1968–69	2,122,915	15,094	22.1	1,391,736,281	610,972,480	43.9
1969–70	2,164,386	16,218	23.5	1,573,118,910	684,627,844	43.5

[1] State to local school districts only and does not include State aid to intermediate school districts.
[2] State tax commission report used for these years. The commission report included community college and intermediate district taxes. Later years include local school district taxes only.

From the Copper Country in the Upper Peninsula to Monroe County in the south, Michigan citizens are frequently voting "no" on proposals to renew millage or to increase millage. In school year 1970–71, there were 603 operational millage elections. Two hundred and twenty-nine (229), or 38 percent were defeated. Fortunately, most districts receive voter approval on the second or third attempt. In addition, there were 120 bond elections. Eighty-one (81) of these, or 68 percent, were defeated.

These are interesting and alarming figures, but they are more than empty statistics. Parents in Escanaba, Grand Ledge, Detroit, Beecher, Bedford, Waverly, Lansing, and scores of other communities can tell you of the consequences. In the wake of millage defeats, come reductions in the length of the school day, curtailment of transportation, new buildings lying idle because there are not funds for operations, and elimination of some educational programs.

The evidence does not suggest that the citizens who vote to defeat millage or bond proposals are adversaries of education, but many homeowners are convinced that unfair reliance has been placed on the property tax.

The defeat of millage proposals, inadequate state funds, and ever-increasing costs have led a number of school districts to fall into a deficit condition. At the end of the 1969–70 fiscal year, 70 school districts had general fund equity deficits

that totaled $8,981,957. In several cases, the magnitude of the deficit was alarming.

The continued rise in the cost of K–12 education is most frustrating to state officials. This frustration is demonstrated in Table 2. Since 1960–61, state school aid to local school districts has increased 112.4 percent although the membership increase has been only 29.1 percent. However, during this time period, the state's share of General Fund revenues for local school districts has dropped from 52.7 percent to 43.5 percent. School operating expenditures have increased 157.2 percent during the same period. It is not as though the state has not made a supreme effort to assist school districts through substantial increases in state aid but the plain fact of the matter is we have not been able to keep up with the increased cost to local school districts.

In most simple terms, school expenditures have been growing because of (1) increased enrollments, (2) salary and wage increases, (3) inflationary increase in supplies, materials, and equipment; and (4) the increased complexity of education.

Unmistakably, this fall's additional enrollment, the increased costs for salary and wage increases, and the higher prices, because of the continuing inflationary forces, continue to require a substantial increase in the dollars for education.

II. THE MICHIGAN SYSTEM OF STATE SCHOOL AID

The modern Michigan school aid system began in 1946 when the Michigan State Constitution was amended creating a State School Aid Fund. At that time, one-sixth of the total sales tax receipts were earmarked to the School Aid Fund for distribution to school districts on a per capita basis. In addition, the Legislature was required to appropriate each year an additional amount equal to 44.7 percent of the previous year's sales tax receipts for the schools. In 1955, the Constitution was again amended to provide the earmarking of one-half of the sales tax collections to the School Aid Fund. These sales tax receipts are to be distributed on a membership formula defined by the Legislature. This section of the Constitution was continued in the 1963 Constitution. In addition, small amounts of revenue from a liquor excise tax and the cigarette tax are earmarked to the School Aid Fund. Also, included in the expenditure from the School Aid Fund is the employer's contribution to the Public School Employees' Retirement Systems.

In a sense, the earmarking of specific revenues has become academic because it has been necessary to supplement the School Aid Fund from the General Fund in order to finance the State School Aid Acts that have been passed by the Legislature. For example, in 1969–70, total School Aid Fund expenditures were $842,233,539 of which $438,144,448 represented a transfer from the State General Fund. Included in the former figure is the $149,531,120 employer's contribution for retirement.

The single most important section in the State School Aid Act is the membership formula which has, in concept, remained basically the same over the years. The formula is based upon a membership allowance which is computed on the number of children in membership on the fourth Friday following Labor Day multiplied by a gross membership allowance which is reduced by a deductible millage factor applied against the local district's state equalized valuation. For example, in the 1971–72 State School Air Act, there are two formulas. The A formula has a gross allowance of $559.50 with a deductible factor of 14 mills, and the B formula has a gross allowance of $661.50 with a deductible factor of 20 mills. The breaking point between the two formulas is $17,000. Any district with a per pupil state equalized valuation of $17,000 or more receives a greater allowance under the A formula and any district with a state equalized valuation of less than $17,000 receives a greater benefit under the B formula. Attached as Exhibit A is a tabulation showing the per pupil levels of state aid provided school districts at various levels of district wealth.

In addition to the basic membership formula, the State Aid Act contains several special or categorical appropriations. The major categorical appropriations are transportation, remedial reading, special education, intermediate school district aid, municipal overburden, compensatory education and vocational educaion. Following is a brief description of the major categorical programs in the 1971–72 State School Aid Act.

Transportation

State aid for transportation essentially provides reimbursement for those students living outside of a municipality and transported to a school one and one-half miles or more from their home. State aid is restricted to 75 percent of the actual cost of transporting the students. Public schools are required to provide transportation for nonpublic school students in the same manner that they transport their own students and receive transportation reimbursement for such transportation.

Remedial reading

State aid reimbursement is provided for approved remedial reading teachers. The formula provides reimbursement on the basis of 75 percent of the teacher's salary up to a maximum of $8,100.00 per teacher.

Special education

Reimbursement is based on the same formula used in the remedial reading program. In addition to classroom teachers, other professional personnel such as diagnosticians, special education directors and school social workers are eligible for reimbursement.

Intermediate school districts

Michigan has 59 intermediate school districts which are non-operating but provide consultative, regulatory and administrative services to local school districts. State aid provides a portion of the intermediae district's general operating funds. The specific reimbursemen formula provides an amount equal to the operating budget of the intermediate district multiplied by a percentage factor. This factor is based on the ratio of state aid received by the intermediate district's constituent local districts during the preceding school year to the total current operating expenditures of the local districts in the preceding fiscal year.

Compensatory education

Although Michigan has provided funds for compensatory education programs for several years, the 1971–72 program has been altered significantly from past years. The purpose of the compensatory education program is to upgrade achievement in the basic cognitive skills of pupils in grades K through 6. School districts qualifying receive aid in the amount of $200.00 per pupil. Additional state aid is provided based on the number of students scoring at the fifteenth percentile or lower on the statewide 4th and 7th grade assessment program. Districts must establish performance objectives for eligible pupils and conduct a pre-test and a post-test in order to ascertain if the objectives have been met. For those districts not meeting a minimum of 75 percent of their stated objectives, the compensatory education funds are reduced in the next fiscal year.

Vocational education

This is a new $3,000,000 categorical program in the 1971–72 State School Aid Act and reimbursement is based on the added cost of specific vocational education programs to school districts.

Municipal overburden

The municipal overburden section provides additional state aid for those school districts that are part of other local units of government that have high operating taxes for non-school purposes. Any school district that is part of another unit of government that has local taxes that exceed 125 percent of the state average is eligible for additional state aid under the municipal overburden section.

The pattern in Michigan as it relates to the categorical programs has been for the Legislature to impose a specific dollar ceiling on each program. Because the ceiling usually is less than is required to pay out according to formula, it has been necessary to prorate the categorical funds. For example, in 1970–71, the special education categorical appropriation was $48,800,000 but full payout would have required $58,541,000. Thus, special education was prorated on the basis of 83.3 percent.

The one exception to proration is the compensatory education program where full entitlement is paid until the appropriation is exhausted. This, of course, results in some districts that are eligible for funds under the formula receiving no monies because the appropriated funds are exhausted before all eligible districts are funded.

The tendency of the Legislature to grandfather a district's basic membership allowance has become an increasing problem and contributes to the inequities found in Michigan's school financial structure.

In the 1970–71 State School Aid Act, a provision was written in that would guarantee a district a net membership allowance which is no less than the net membership allowance received in the previous fiscal year. This has the effect of ignoring the increase in the local district's ability to raise funds at the local level because of an increase in the district's state equalized valuation. Such a provision, of course, assists high valuation districts more than it does low valuation districts. The full cost of this membership guarantee in 1970–71 was $16,480,000 but was later reduced to 80 percent of that figure because of Executive Order reductions made by the Governor in order to balance the state's total 1970–71 budget.

A similar grandfather provision is contained in the new 1971–72 State School Aid Act, but a ceiling of $10,000,000 is included for this purpose. It is estimated that the membership guarantee will be prorated at 81 percent of full cost.

Attached as Exhibit B is a tabulation of 1970–71 school aid expenditures and estimated 1971–72 school aid expenditures by category.

III. FULL STATE FUNDING POSSIBILITIES

Until recently, most local school officials would have been opposed to full state funding of K–12 education, fearing loss of local control if the state were to assume full funding of K–12 education. In other words, local officials believed it inevitable that full state funding would result in a prescribed state curriculum. Such concern rarely is heard today. When it is raised by an occasional local official, others point out that there is little left to control because of the need to enter into collective bargaining with employees and the lack of adequate resources to finance a comprehensive educational program.

In 1968, a comprehensive Michigan school finance study entitled *School Finance and Educational Opportunity in Michigan* under the direction of J. Alan Thomas was completed. The study described four basic alternatives for financing K–12 education in Michigan. All four required a local contribution. Dr. Thomas discussed a state levied and collected property tax, but even the state tax is to be supplemented by a local property tax. Furthermore, this proposal was identified as a "radical proposal." In the short span of three years, many responsible persons in Michigan are talking of full state funding.

The Michigan State Board of Education has received a two part conceptual staff paper on "Financing Michigan Public Elementary and Secondary Education," which is based on full state funding. Part I deals with the problem of raising revenue at the state level and Part II deals with a distribution formula. Department staff is in the process of developing and costing out a specific allocation formula that will implement the concepts embodied in the paper.

In addition, the State Board has formally endorsed the adoption of House Joint Resolution GG, which has passed the Michigan House of Representatives and is in a Senate committee. HJR "GG" is a proposed constitutional amendment that would abolish the property tax as the primary source of financing education at the local level and remove the prohibition in the Constitution that prohibits the enactment of a graduated state income tax.

One of the most fully developed state aid proposals in Michigan that provides full state funding is the "Equal Quality Plan." This is a proposal that has been developed by several of the educational interest groups in Michigan including the Michigan Association of School Administrators. The proposal is based on a classroom unit reimbursement formula and has been introduced in bill form in the Michigan Legislature.

The most recent action by state officials is the joint action of the Governor and Attorney General in filing suit in the Circuit Court of Ingham County challenging the legality of the property tax as currently utilized for purposes of public school financing. This action was taken on October 15, 1971 and may hasten full state funding of K–12 education in Michigan.

In summary, it appears that Michigan is on the verge of taking a historic step in the direction of full state funding of K–12 education in Michigan.

EXHIBIT A

COMPARISON OF STATE AID MEMBERSHIP FORMULAS, 1970-71 AND 1971-72

SEV per pupil	1970-71 530.50—14 mills 623.50—20 mills	1971-72 559.50—14 mills 661.50—20 mills
30,000	110. 50	139. 50
29,000	124. 50	153. 50
28,000	138. 50	167. 50
27,000	152. 50	181. 50
26,000	166. 50	195. 50
25,000	180. 50	209. 50
24,000	194. 50	223. 50
23,000	208. 50	237. 50
22,000	222. 50	251. 50
21,000	236. 50	265. 50
20,000	250. 50	279. 50
19,000	264. 50	293. 50
18,000	278. 50	307. 50
17,000	292. 50	321. 50
16,000	306. 50	341. 50
15,000	323. 50	361. 50
14,000	343. 50	381. 50
13,000	363. 50	401. 50
12,000	383. 50	421. 50
11,000	403. 50	441. 50
10,000	423. 50	461. 50
9,000	443. 50	481. 50
8,000	463. 50	501. 50
7,000	483. 50	521. 50
6,000	503. 50	541. 50
5,000	523. 50	561. 50
4,000	543. 50	581. 50
3,000	563. 50	601. 50

EXHIBIT B

1971-72 STATE SCHOOL AID

[Amounts in dollars]

	1970-71	1971-72 State board's recommendation	1971-72 Governor's recommendation	1971-72 Enrolled House bill 4886
State equalized valuation	38, 545, 666, 375	41, 500, 000, 000	41, 200, 000, 000	41, 637, 616, 000
Pupil membership	2, 178, 745	2, 257, 000	2, 182, 000	2, 214, 000
I. Membership:				
Basic pupil allowance	657, 753, 972	810, 150, 000	668, 000, 000	686, 000, 000
Membership guarantee		21, 000, 000		10, 000, 000
High tax levy (sec. 17)	20, 000, 000	44, 000, 000	20, 000, 000	20, 000, 000
II. Existing special programs:				
Remedial reading	5, 000, 000	(1)	(1)	3, 400, 000
Special education	48, 800, 000	69, 916, 000	55, 000, 000	55, 000, 000
Transportation	28, 267, 927	32, 400, 000	31, 600, 000	32, 600, 000
Tuition, regular	150, 000	150, 000		
Intermediate district	4, 500, 000	6, 222, 000	4, 900, 000	5, 500, 000
Underprivileged children	16, 000, 000	39, 828, 000	22, 500, 000	[2] 23, 000, 000
Abstract mathematics program	250, 000	(1)		250, 000
Assistance to reorganized districts	822, 600	826, 000		826, 000
Aid to nonpublic schools	8, 063, 621			
Other	1, 539, 439	2, 400, 000	2, 000, 000	2, 000, 000
Subtotal	113, 393, 587	151, 742, 000	116, 000, 000	122, 576, 000
III. New programs:				
Transportation, vocational centers		1, 250, 000		(3)
Vocational education		15, 600, 000		3, 000, 000
School lunch		1, 000, 000	1, 000, 000	
Media centers				[4] 100, 000
Nonpublic pupil transfer			24, 000, 000	
Intermediate districts—data processing		400, 000		[4] 400, 000

See footnotes at end of table.

1971-72 STATE SCHOOL AID—Continued

	1970-71	1971-72 State Board's recommendation	1971-72 Governor's recommendation	1971-72 Enrolled House Bill 4886
III. New Programs—Continued:				
Detroit decentralization			500,000	
Programs for gifted children		250,000		
Programs for pregnant students				300,000
Transportation—in-city		12,000,000		
Capital outlay		40,000,000		
Free textbooks		5,000,000		
Preschool program for underprivileged children		1,500,000		
Performance contracting		1,500,000		
Inservice teacher training		500,000		
Subtotal		79,000,000	25,500,000	3,800,000
Total State aid	791,147,559		829,500,000	842,376,000
Executive order reduction	(15,869,179)			
Net State aid	775,278,380	1,105,892,000	829,500,000	842,376,000
IV. Retirement	163,375,000	218,400,000	218,400,000	209,100,000
Total State aid bill	938,653,380	1,324,292,000	1,047,900,000	1,051,476,000

[1] Included in a new comprehensive compensatory education program.
[2] Includes $500,000 for performance contracting.
[3] Included in the $32,600,000 appropriation for transportation.
[4] Vetoed by Governor.

Senator MONDALE. Our final witness this morning is Mrs. Jane Tate, who is a member-at-large of the Michigan Association of Parents and Teachers. We are pleased to have you with us this morning.

Mrs. TATE. Thank you, Senator. I am going to stay with my statement, and then I will be glad to answer questions.

STATEMENT OF MRS. JANE TATE, MEMBER-AT LARGE, MICHIGAN ASSOCIATION OF PARENTS AND TEACHERS

Mrs. TATE. I must confess some ambivalence in connection with my testifying here today. Actually, I vacillated until the last minute as to whether or not I should come.

To be sure, I was flattered and honored when I was first invited; but on reflection, it occurred to me that these hearings have been going on for quite some time; they have been dealing with material which has been publicly available and quite well known, for more than 5 years; and in fact publicly debated for at least that time.

As a matter of fact, it is one of the poorer kept secrets that often our legislative leaders substitute "hearings" for action programs—delaying action until completion of the "hearing process," after which everybody seems to have forgotten that action was supposed to have been an outgrowth of the hearings, or worse, expending subsequent efforts repudiating what was learned in those hearings.

Additionally, I point up what has been publicly acknowledged for some time. We have, in this country, rafts of materials—the results of committees—all containing recommendations for action, most of which has never been taken.

KERNER COMMISSION REPORT

Our most shocking example, recently, is the Kerner Commission report. Surely, you realize that little has been done to implement

these recommendations. Hopefully you realize, too, that the introduction to that report is almost verbatum reproduction of the 1919 Chicago "race riot commission" report, which, like its Kerner successor, languishes on the shelves without producing action.

I came for several reasons. Second was a belief in the integrity of at least those of the committee members whom I have come to know through the public media; third was the hope to have some input in the decisions and decisionmaking process effecting this crucial area of public education; but first and foremost, because our Nation is undergoing grave crises from which we can't guarantee survival, involving, among other things, education. And I, for one, will not let history record either my silence or inaction, no matter how slim the chances for success may be.

In one sense, what goes on in a classroom can be considered in a vacuum. On the other hand, there is no way to divorce the tensions, polarizations, frustrations, and alienation which characterizes the general societal milieu from either the milieu of the schools or of the school community.

Under funding, violence, racial hostility and polarization, racism in the institutional sense, class hostilities, alienation, feelings of political frustration, the unresponsiveness of our institutions, these and more are illustrations of factors within the schools which are but a microcosm of what is going on outside of the schools in the general community.

Michigan, as you know, is torn asunder by the hysteria generated by an anticipated court ruling, which some feel will order cross busing, and other court rulings and legislative proposals to end property tax as a means to fund K–12 education.

Those legislative proposals being without concomitant alternate funding plans. This has further exacerbated feelings of tension, isolation and frustration; a suburban-urban class war is on the verge of erupting into open violent hostilities—there have always been cold-war aspects for years.

Lack of Leadership

Sadly, throughout the growing disintegration of our concepts of unity, common goals, and common good, the retreat into violence and apathy, on the one hand, and self-serving and self-seeking responses at the expense of the legitimate aspirations of others who are different from ourselves, on the other hand, have not been met with leadership, integrity, selflessness and genuine public service.

We must receive a more integritous response from our political and professional leadership. On the contrary, politics, lately, has degenerated into a highly sophisticated form of followership, retreating from those meager hard-fought gains in the fights for equality, into an imploring, doubletalking rationalizing justification for the recalcitrance of the constituency. Who can excuse the 180-degree reversed new stand on busing of someone like Senator Griffin, after years of leadership for busing in the South, except in terms of opportunism, possibly in both instances.

Who can explain a State legislature which passes bills regarding decentralization of Detroit, without bothering to fund the costs of

decentralized regional school boards? Who can explain a court decision in Michigan ordering free textbooks to every school child, without one single dime from the legislature to implement that decision?

We suffer from lack of commitment, lack of consistency, and lack of followthrough.

We need to recognize that we should stop being for equal opportunity. Opportunity refers to the potential. We need to guarantee not just equal opportunity, we need to guarantee equal experience. The example of textbooks illustrates this. It was the integrity of the courts which ordered the opportunity of equal education, into equal experience. Even so, the financial implementation of that decision still resides with the integrity of the legislative process to provide sufficient funds to implement the intent of that decision.

What does our inaction and frenzy tell our youngsters about what kind of society we may be? This is very relevant to schools. Our educational system needs drastic reforms. We have given our schools the responsibility of preparing our children for adulthood. Much is written in our textbooks—racist as most of them are—about the advantages of democracy, and the promises and commitment of America—even poor and black.

Yet what is there in their everyday experience which validates or gives promise of either the commitment or goal? Our teachers are rigidly trained in institutions that are crippled by often archaic regulations of their own choosing, and those of State Boards of Education.

Meanwhile thousands of uncertified but excellent educators remain unqualified. We continue to train middle-class students to be middle-class teachers in middle-class schools, serving a middle-class clientele.

What reforms are you gentlemen contemplating, recommending vis-a-vis selection and admission process into our teacher training institutions? What minimum criteria are you recommending qua eligibility for teaching, other than that all powerful state certification—certification based today only on the courses you have studied, and the hours in front of a classroom you have put in like a sentence?

What recommendations for a change will you make about our archaic and rigid certification laws, which yearly bar some of the most talented, sympathetic, compassionate and most importantly, extremely competent potential educators from teaching children, merely because they failed to meet some outmoded, irrelevant standards which amount to no more than union apprenticeships?

Certification System Outmoded

I speak here not against standards, we have almost none regarding excellence, but I do accuse our current system of certification of being outmoded, archaic and irrelevant. I see a collusionary relationship between our colleges of education, and our certifying agencies, which perpetuates mediocrity, maintains a closed and unyielding system, is slipshod in its selection process, is exclusive, has no enforceable professional ethics and which creates a closed social system, a system with it own rewards and punishments, serving only the needs of that closed social system.

The crime is not that we don't have good teachers. We have many. The crime is that those good teachers are either accidental or coincidental to the teacher training process.

What I am saying is far from revolutionary. Those good teachers have been saying it for years. Our teachers are more and more a closed shop union, negotiating vested interests into contractual relationships which do little or nothing to further the cause of equal educational experience.

The neophytes are sent to the schools requiring the most sophisticated decisionmaking, and the greatest amount of expertise in technique. Beginning teachers, substitutes, emergency licensees, and the unqualified sub-rosa army of nonteaching, unable babysitters man our ghetto schools. They are the ones who have no choice as to what their job assignment will be. The flagrancy of some of their practices is so extraordinary that we have even invented a vocabulary to describe their abuses. Social passing is only one of many such terms describing the practice of deliberate passing of ineligible students for the purpose of getting rid of them.

Teaching in inner city schools has been described by one author as sitting on the lid of the garbage can, shoving the garbage around for 12 years until we can get rid of it. When we talk of equal experience, we need to at least acknowledge the often well-intentioned shortsightedness of our legislators who routinely pass high-sounding, empty legislation that raises hopes and continues to frustrate achievement.

One of the members of the Michigan State Board of Education recently stated that Federal research revealed that there was no difference in the achievement of a child who was taught in an old building and one who taught in a new building. In response to those remarks, while having some question about the reliability of the research, I would suggest that it has some meaning to the child about our society when he finds only the old schools in his neighborhood, or in those neighborhoods containing children of similar complexion or socioeconomic status; while finding the newer buildings and equipment, as well as supplies, in other neighborhoods containing other kinds of children.

What State or National program has even bothered to include funds for capital outlay in their planning? In fact, until this year, the Michigan Legislature has penalized Detroit, where the needs are the greatest, by restricting our bonding authority at a lower rate than any other school district in the State. State-aid distribution formulas have not provided funds in any amount for capital outlay.

Important Psychological Factors

What do we know are the most important psychological factors in educational success?

1. Teacher attitude is crucial—a recent California study in which students' I.Q. scores were scrambled, revealed that those students, regardless of their intelligence, did the best whom the teachers thought had the highest I.Q.
2. A child does well in school directly in relationship to what he perceives is the esteem in which he is held by society.

3. Those children do best in school who perceive they do indeed have control of their own destinies, and who feel that their decisions do make a difference in their lives.

Despite all of our pronouncements about the rights of each child in our society to certain equal considerations in educational programing, it can be stated that upper- and middle-class white Americans have made certain assumptions about the needs and abilities of those children of different color and/or different socioeconomic status and have funded educational programs based on their assumptions, rather than their pronouncements.

The results are that the educational experiences of children differ not in terms of need or ability, but by the accident of birth or location of their housing. The consequence of this has been an educational self-fulfilling prophecy in which those who are provided with the least show the least achievement. These results are then used to justify a still more limited effort.

Over the years, as a member of several State organizations dedicated to the improvement of education, I have participated in the entreaties of those organizations to the elected representatives of the State of Michigan for them to assume their responsibility to provide the legislative impetus to fund public education in Michigan on a realistic basis.

The State is not doing so now, and never has in the past. Those organizations have insisted that the State of Michigan make available to local school districts, funds which are adequate to finance a quality education for all children in its public schools.

This would mean that the requirements and the needs of the children, rather than their parents' ability to pay, or the number of factories and department stores within their school districts, would determine the kind of education the child receives.

Formula Based on Need

Property tax is not the way to finance public education. What is needed in Michigan, as in most other States, is a State-aid formula based on need, one which uses per capita income as a factor in determining the distribution of school aid money. Per capita income would be used as a significant basis for measuring educational deprivation and need, and thus assist in more adequately determining the amount of money that should be provided.

The alternative to such realistic reform may well be another batch of nuisance taxes on such necessary items as cigarettes, beer and liquor. If that happens, we could always adopt a whole new set of slogans to finance education, such as "drink more liquor—kids will learn quicker;" "three packs a day keep half-days away."

PTA's all over the State and Nation could switch from the proverbial image of serving tea and cookies to serving beer and pretzels with your cigarettes.

I don't really wish to go on in this vein. "Why Children Fail," "36 Children," "Education and Ecstacy," "Crisis in the Classroom" are but examples of the now vast literature dealing with educational reform. Some document their thesis from personal experience; some from research; some from academic observation.

They all say the same thing. Education needs reform—not patching, but massive, sweeping reform. We have no functional criteria in any of the issues that matter. Racists can teach. National chauvinists are all right for our children. Religious bigots qualify to affect our children's lives.

Not only do we not rule these traits a priori as illicit and unthinkable and prima facie evidence for disqualification, we don't even have standards to define what they are!

Whether or not a school system wishes to use what Nancy Larrick, former president of the International Reading Association, calls gentle doses of racism for their textbooks, it is a matter of option. Our schools are class biased. Most of our administrators are narrowminded, rigid, unsympathetic, plastic people. Where are my sources? These aren't radical statements. They come from the educators themselves.

The National Education Association and the American Federation of Teachers both have recent publications which say precisely the same thing. The issues are really very simple: our selection of teacher candidates, training of future teachers, and exclusion of potential teachers is a system which is now rigid, gross, irrelevant, and detructive.

Racism

We don't have a functional national ethic in terms of what attitudes are not permissible, and what values we do wish to transmit. Perhaps it isn't so much that we are intentionally racist, and I don't confine that only to color, as that we are not dedicated to antiracism.

Our buildings, supplies, teachers, and facilities are disastrously biased in their allocations. Our funding system is archaic and unworkable. We are unable, or is it unwilling, to engage in legislation which will require the accession to what we proclaim to be a national ethic, and at the same time are unable or unwilling to engage in actions which will either disturb the perpetuation of advantage to the advantaged, or offer any realistic promise for the disadvantaged not to remain sentenced to that disadvantage for life.

And now we're faced with the very real possibility of change from within or from without, or life in a police state to prevent change.

I might continue in this vein for some time, because I feel that what I have said needs saying.

But at the same time, I recognize that most of what I would say, as well as what I have said, has been said before—probably even before this committee—and I'm not sure that resaying it here would justify the effort.

I would hope, however, that you would recognize that my failure to say more at this time is by no means an indication of my lack of concern about what I feel can be the consequences of our continued denial and lack of sensitivity to the educational facts of life which I have presented to you today.

I do not believe that our society can long continue along its present course without serious consequences. Ours is not a poor or deprived country. We speak loudly and frequently about the unrealized wealth of our Nation. We spend billions for the military and grandiose explorations to other planets. However much prestige we may feel we gain from those expenditures and achievements, I would suggest to you

that there are others who view them differently, who view them as a statement of our priorities and lack of real human concerns.

Listen to the words of poet-lyricist, Gil Scott-Heron, from his record "Small Talk at 125th and Lenox," which points out the concern about priorities I think.

A rat done bit my sister Nell
with Whitey on the moon;
Her face and arms began to swell
and Whitey's on the moon.
I can't pay no doctors bills,
but Whitey's on the moon.
Ten years from now I'll be paying still,
while Whitey's on the moon.
The man just upped my rent last night
cause Whitey's on the moon.
No hot water, no toilets, no lights
but Whitey's on the moon.
I wonder why he's uppin' me—cause Whitey's on the moon?

* * * * *

A rat done bit my sister Nell
with Whitey on the moon.
Her face and arms began to swell
and Whitey's on the moon.
Was all the money I made last year for Whitey on the moon?

* * * * *

I think I'll send these doctor bills
air mail special
to Whitey on the moon.

Blacks refer to 11:59, meaning 1 minute before the darkest hour; the bulletin of the atomic scientists has a clock showing 10 minutes to 12, on its cover. I mean to tell you that the hour for me is past, when I can answer the question posed by Mr. Scott-Heron and others.

If you can answer those questions integratously, and not have your answers be either evasive or gratuitous, then do so. I think you can't. When I got ready to come, a friend said to me that I was just wasting time on another silly hearing which would spend money, take legislators wherever they wanted to go, get press attention for politicians who wanted to get reelected, and not do one single thing.

I told you I came because I wanted to have input into the decisionmaking process. Well, gentlemen, you are the decisionmakers; and the time is now for decisionmaking. We must have action; we must have action now. And we must have meaningful reformist action now.

And if we don't, I'm sure you have already heard, tomorrow is too late.

FINANCIAL INEQUALITY

Senator MONDALE. Thank you, Mrs. Tate, for a most moving statement.

One of your points was directed at financial inequality in the schools in Michigan, and we have had testimony from Mr. McKerr that there will be a difference of $13,000 per year between a classroom of 20 children in a poor school and a class of 20 in the richest.

I see you are from Detroit, a member of the Parent-Teachers Association. I gather that you have had substantial experience in observing and working with the schools of Michigan.

Have you seen evidence that financial inequality does have a bearing on the different experiences—as you call it—of the schoolchildren of Michigan?

Mrs. TATE. Yes. Yes, very much so, throughout the entire State, you see examples of this.

Senator MONDALE. Can you relate some of your observations?

Mrs. TATE. Well, you mean as to the kinds of experiences the children are having? For instance, if you go into some areas where the expenditures are low and they don't have textbooks—in some of these, they still don't have textbooks, even though we have the Supreme Court ruling now.

Senator MONDALE. There are schools in Michigan with no textbooks?

Mrs. TATE. There would be classes which don't have sufficient textbooks for every child.

The educational experiences would vary greatly between the various school districts. Those children who go to the schools in Bloomfield Hills, which has a $1,250 expenditure per child, have a greater experience in all kinds of education than the child in the ghetto schools in the city of Detroit.

Senator MONDALE. What would you say about the degree to which a child going to a black ghetto school in Michigan has unique experiences as against a child going to some of these wealthy school districts? Is there a tremendous amount of inequality, in your opinion, between the two?

Mrs. TATE. In my opinion, yes. They have, as I mentioned the neophyte teacher, or the emergency substitute, as we call them. They have the class bias in many of their teachers, who simply cannot understand the difference in cultures.

TEACHERS NEED BETTER PREPARATION

The colleges of education have not prepared, and are not preparing, in any way, teachers to go out and really do a job in the schools, whether black or white, but particularly in the black schools.

Senator MONDALE. I notice you place great emphasis on the matter of teacher training and teacher certification. Apparently it's been your observation that the teachers in the poor schools are less well trained, less experienced and I gather, also, biased against the children they are teaching?

Mrs. TATE. Many of the white teachers are very biased in the ghetto schools.

Senator MONDALE. What would you do to alter teacher training, experience, and certification to change that? Would you emphasize community control, or what would you do?

Mrs. TATE. I think you would have to have community control. I think it has to be done in a more thought-out-manner than the decentralization of the Detroit schools was done, however, although that is a step.

I think the teacher certification has got to be made less rigid so that you can have a person who understands human beings, and knows how to work with them, working with children, rather than somebody who has taken the prescribed number of courses. I think that applies to vocational education, also.

Senator MONDALE. Are you a supporter of the community control theory?

Mrs. TATE. Yes.

Senator MONDALE. What you are saying then, in Michigan, in your opinion, the community control proposal falls short of true community control, is that correct?

Mrs. TATE. As I see it, it is short.

Senator MONDALE. That while Michigan has what is called community control——

Mrs. TATE. Detroit has.

Senator MONDALE. In Detroit, the community doesn't have the kind of control it needs to run the schools; is that what you are saying?

Mrs. TATE. No, they don't have. More importantly, they didn't have any financial allocation to make decentralization work. The State provided that they would decentralize into a prescribed number of regions, and would have regional boards which would be paid; additional administration was needed plus many other costs were involved, all with no provision for allocation from the State. The members in Detroit had never been paid before, so it had to come out of the general expenditures as did the other expenses.

And they really were not given a great many powers. It's not as though the neighborhood can really have a great deal of input and control, because you still have the central structure there.

Senator MONDALE. Basically, it still runs from the central headquarters?

Mrs. TATE. Pretty much.

Senator MONDALE. And Michigan runs it. What emphasis would you place on integration and desegregation as a strategy for dealing with inequality?

INTEGRATION VERY NECESSARY

Mrs. TATE. Well, my personal feeling—and for most of the organizations I have been with—is that integration is a very necessary kind of thing, and I would say as I watched the hysteria in Michigan because a judge handed down an opinion—not even a ruling—that suggested there might be crossbusing, that the legislature should really look at this possibility because I think it presents some very realistic kinds of problems.

There may indeed be crossbusing among various school districts, and I think a major problem is; do they stay individual school districts within a metropolitan area, each paying their own tax base, providing nothing is done to the property tax that is being used to finance schools in Michigan at this point, or do you make it a metropolitan school district with a different kind of tax base?

Senator MONDALE. If you had your options, which would you prefer—a community school system with real power and financing at the community level, or a program of metropolitanwide integration? Or would you prefer both?

Mrs. TATE. Well, I don't know that you have to make a choice of that kind. I don't think that you can finance schools—let me say—at the local level. Not in Michigan you can't.

Property taxes for some of those school districts is just done with. They will not get it again. I think there has to be greater input from the State, so far as financing is concerned.

I don't know why you would have to make a choice between metropolitan crossbusing for school districts and community control of schools. I don't see why you can't have both.

I don't know why you can't look at the metropolitan area as a community—I really get rather angry about the neighborhood concept thing when we really have never had a "neighborhood" school. You have all kinds of backgrounds going to a school. You don't just have a certain income, or cultural level. So that you really have a community school. You simply are enlarging the community by creating a metropolitan school district.

Senator MONDALE. As I understand it, Detroit's stipulation is similar to New York, and some other areas in that it responded to the plea of some black leaders who said, let's forget about this so-called desegregation and integration, and let us have control of our own schools. Let us elect a school board and get our fair share of the funds, and we will run a school system which is sensitive to the needs of our people. And I think, just as there had been token desegregation, we immediately began to pass token community control legislation, which really does not give the necessary power.

But in any event, if you had your choice between a strategy of true community control and funding, or a fullhearted program of metropolitan integration, which of the alternatives would you choose?

Mrs. TATE. Well, I would have to say that I believe in the principle of an integrated education, and that the metropolitan crossbusing, I would take.

However, I would add the adequate financing, just as you added it with the other one.

Senator MONDALE. Senator Hart?

Senator HART. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I apologize to you and Mrs. Tate for being absent until just the last minute; I was meeting with Mayor Gribbs on another matter that has a measure of sensitivity, about gun control. And I promise you, Mrs. Tate, to read fully your testimony. But I am very grateful for the points that I heard you voice in the last 2 minutes.

I should say, Mr. Chairman, that this lady is one who has given responsible leadership in sometimes troubled circumstances to those of us in Michigan.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you very much for your plea for decision-making. We have tried for a long time, many of us, to really put clout in, say, Title I, and yet even with the modest increases we have asked for the percentage of the Federal assistance to schools has dropped. What we are trying to do here is to develop a record from which we can argue the case for a system of education in this country and a system of Federal support that will deliver what you have carefully described as an equal educational experience, which we obviously do not have at the present time, and which you obviously don't have in Michigan.

I fully understand your frustration. It is quite widely shared around here, too.

Thank you very much.

The committee is in recess, to reconvene at 10 a.m., on Monday, in room 1114, of the New Senate Office Building.

(Whereupon, at 12:35 p.m., the Select Committee was recessed to reconvene at 10 a.m. on November 1, 1971, in room 1114 of the New Senate Office Building.)

EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY IN MICHIGAN

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 1, 1971

U.S. SENATE
SELECT COMMITTEE ON
EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY
Washington, D.C.

The Select Committee met at 10:10 a.m., pursuant to call, in room 1114, of the New Senate Office Building, the Honorable Walter F. Mondale, chairman of the committee, presiding.

Present: Senators Mondale and Hart.

Staff members present: William C. Smith, staff director and general counsel; Donn Mitchell, professional staff; and William Hennigan, minority staff director.

Senator MONDALE. The committee will come to order.

This morning we will hear from Dr. Philip Kearney, associate superintendent for research and school administration, Michigan Department of Education; and Dr. Lawrence Read, superintendent of Jackson City Public Schools, Jackson, Mich.

We will be discussing the Michigan system for educational assessment which I believe is the most advanced in the country, and which bears upon this committee's review of the Michigan educational system.

Our first witness is Dr. Philip Kearney. We are very pleased to have you here with us this morning.

STATEMENT OF DR. PHILIP KEARNEY, ASSOCIATE SUPERINTENDENT, RESEARCH AND SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION, MICHIGAN DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

Dr. KEARNEY. Thank you.

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, my name is Philip Kearney. I am the associate superintendent for research and school administration with the Michigan Department of Education. On behalf of the State board of education and the State superintendent, Dr. John Porter, and the Michigan Department of Education, I am pleased to be here today and to describe for you the Michigan Educational Assessment Program.*

In my prepared statement I divide my presentation into three parts. In Part I, I describe for you the educational assessment program as it was first conceived and implemented in 1969–70. I also discuss very briefly certain of the major findings of the 1969–70 effort. In Part II,

*See also, Part 19A–1, U.S. Senate Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity staff charts on Michigans Educational Assessment Program.

I describe the assesment program as it operated during its second year. 1970–71. Finally I discuss the objectives and procedures of the 1971–72 educational assessment program. I also have attached to the statement a bibliography which lists the several available reports in our assessment series, as well as other available articles and documents

Senator MONDALE. Dr. Kearney, your full statement will appear in the record* as though read. You may proceed to read it or emphasize certain points, or proceed in whatever way you think best to make your points.

Dr. KEARNEY. Fine, Senator. I would like to attempt to summarize it somewhat briefly and then perhaps respond to questions that you and Senator Hart have.

Senator MONDALE. Fine.

Dr. KEARNEY. The Michigan Educational Assessment Program had its genesis in a relatively obscure part of Act 307 of the Public Acts of 1969, the main purpose of which was to appropriate operating funds to the department for the fiscal year 1969–70.

Under this section, the department was provided with approximately $250,000 and given a mandate to undertake two efforts: First the planning and development of a State program for a periodic and comprehensive assessment of educational progress; and second, the immediate assessment of certain basic skills at one or more grade levels during the 1969–70 school year.

FIRST ASSESSMENT EFFORT

The beginning steps of the program were taken in 1969–70, when over 300,000 fourth and seventh grade pupils in the State's public schools participated in Michigan's first statewide assessment effort. We are now completing the second year of the program and also beginning a third year and, again, have acquired considerable data on the fourth and seventh grade pupils and their schools. The program now also has its own basis in statute in the form of Act 38 of the Public Acts of 1970.

The assessment program gathers and reports three basic kinds of information which we feel are descriptive of the educational system. First, information on students' background characteristics; second, information on school and school district characteristics and resources; and third, information on student and school performance.

In the first year of its operation in 1960–70, the educational assessment program undertook to gather student performance information on fourth and seventh grade students in four areas of academic skill: vocabulary, reading, the mechanics of written English, and mathematics. The State board chose these areas because they felt that, together, they constituted the skills which are basic to each child's elementary education and are the foundation for all further educational development.

However, no attempt was made in 1969–70 to identify individual instances of extreme educational need among students.

In its second year, 1970–71, the assessment program again assessed students' performance in the basic skills with the important difference

*See prepared statement, p. 9506.

that the instruments used were altered so that results would be reliable and valid for individual students rather than as in the previous year, reliable and valid only for a group of students. With this change, the results of the 1970–71 program also could be used to identify individual students whose needs in the basic skills required further investigation.

By combining the data on individual students, information is created which provides measures of relative educational need for each school and for each district in the State, and by combining the scores of all students in Michigan a measure was created of the relative educational need of all students in the State. In this way, the program provides measures of relative educational need at the four levels: the individual student level, the school level, the district level, and the State level.

Assessment Serves Two Purposes

In general, we see the assessment effort as serving two basic purposes at the State level. First, it can provide information to help in making decisions regarding the allocation or the distribution of resources. Second, hopefully, it can provide additional information to help in making decisions regarding the structuring or setting-up of major educational programs.

At the present time, one specific use of the information at the State level is the identification of students' needs for the purpose of allocating some $23 million in compensatory education funds.

The role of the educational assessment program in local applications is to provide basic information which can guide local officials as they determine for themselves the areas of student needs and system operation which require extensive examination.

I should emphasize that the Michigan Educational Assessment Program is not designed to serve as a local evaluation and that data gathered in the educational assessment program do not support immediate conclusions on how to modify the local system's operation. In general, data from the assessment program only indicate areas requiring further investigation in order to carry out local evaluation and to make specific recommendations which are appropriate in each local area.

The ultimate goal, then, of the assessment effort is to provide reliable and meaningful information on the outcomes of public elementary and secondary education in Michigan interpreted in light of those important school- and nonschool-related factors which influence the attainment of these outcomes.

The second goal, and one closely related, is to improve the basis for educational decisionmaking overtime. It is expected that with more and better information, first of all, the general public will increase its understanding of the attainments, the needs and the problems of the schools. Second, that the State legislature will be better able to enact legislation appropriate to the educational needs of the State. Third, that the efforts of the Department of Education will be facilitated in identifying needs and priorities for purposes of planning and directing the improvement of education in the State; and fourth, that local school districts will be assisted in their efforts to identify needs and priorities as they plan and administer local school program.

In an attempt to further explicate the purposes of the program, Senator, perhaps I could outline for you the objectives of the 1971–72 program which, in many ways, are similar to the objectives of the 1969–70 and 1970–71 programs.

First Objective of 1971–72 Program

The first objective of the 1971–72 assessment program will be to provide the State Board of Education, the executive office, the legislature and citizens with information which contributes to an understanding of the educational needs of Michigan school children and to the analysis of the educational system's responses to these needs.

In order to meet the first objective of the educational assessment program, answers to two specific questions are being sought. First, what are the levels of basic skills achievement and of other educational assessment measures in Michigan, in Michigan's community types and district sizes, and in each of Michigan's school districts? Educational assessment will provide information from which answers to this question may be drawn for the State and for the State's community type and district sizes in the form of tables which will display summaries of this data.

By using these tables, it will be possible to compare the levels on the same measures of districts in different types of communities and of districts with different sizes of student population.

Information descriptive of individual districts for each of the assessment measures will be presented in tables which list districts alphabetically by community type served. The measures will be reported in two or three ways. First, a score will be reported for each measure; for example, the percent of teachers with master's degrees, the average years of teaching experience, the pupil-teacher ratio, the K–12 instructional expense per pupil in dollars, and the average score of students in basic skills.

Second, these scores will be reported in terms of their position on a percentile ranking of districts in Michigan school districts; and third, the percent of 4th and 7th grade students whose score in each decile on composite achievement will be reported for each district.

The second question we are seeking an answer to is: Do associations exist among the educational assessment measures? Information to answer this question will be provided in tables which display correlation coefficients computed for each pair of educational assessment measures. Information contained in these tables, hopefully will enable a further understanding to be had of the associations among such measures as percent of teachers with master's degrees and basic skills composite achievement.

Although this information cannot support hypotheses of cause of effect among the measures, it will, we think, point out areas that merit further and more intensive examination. The will help in the analysis of the State's educational delivery system since this activity will identify, among other things, relationships among specific kinds of resource allocations and the quality of educational opportunities for the State's school children.

The second objective of the 1971–72 program will be to provide citizens and educators in every school system with information regard-

ing their district and its schools. This information will contribute to an understanding of the educational needs of the district's school children and the analysis of their district's responses to these needs.

Assessment Useful for Evaluations

Several studies, as you well know, have shown differences in educational offerings among the State's school districts. These studies and others have also shown disparities in educational program offerings within school districts. Data from large scale assessment efforts also are useful in the improvement of all aspects of educational curriculum. For example, assessment information can identify strengths and weaknesses in certain areas of school performance. It is planned that local educators will be provided with assessment information and explanatory materials from the 1971–72 educational assessment program. Two basic kinds of materials will be provided. First, norm tables that may be used to display local assessment data; and second, information that explains the meaning of the assessment measures, their limits and their uses.

The educational assessment materials may be used to answer two questions, then, at the local level. First, what are the levels of basic skills achievement and of other educational assessment measures in the school district in relation to other districts? Second, what are the levels of basic skills achievement and other educational assessment measures in each school district?

The third objective of the 1971–72 program will be to provide school districts with basic information regarding students that will help the students, their parents, and educators to assess the program. Additionally, this information will be used by districts to identify students who have extraordinary need for assistance to improve their competence consistent with their objectives.

Here, we are seeking the answers to two questions. All local school districts, of course, have the responsibility of seeking an answer to a most important question: What can be done to insure that every child who attends school develops competence in the basic skills; second, what are the levels of educational attainment of each child who completes the achievement battery?

The final objective of the 1971–72 effort will be to provide citizens with information regarding the progress of the Michigan educational system as a whole and the progress of its school districts and schools over a period of years. As I stated previously, a most important question facing the State and local school districts is the equalization and improvement of educational programs and student performance. By conducting an annual educational assessment, it will be possible to measure the degree to which equalization and improvement are actually taking place.

As I mentioned earlier, assessment programs ideally can serve two basic purposes. First, they can provide information to help in making decisions regarding the allocation or distribution of educational resources; and second, they hopefully might provide additional information to help in making decisions regarding the structuring or setting up of major educational programs.

Distribution of Resources

One of the major problems facing American public education is the way in which resources are distributed among school districts and, for that matter, among schools within districts. As I noted in my prepared statement, several recent surveys have documented the maldistribution of educational opportunity in the State of Michigan. An educational assessment program can provide data that highlights this problem.

The State assessment program can indicate the relative levels of performance and of factors related to performance in different community types, and in geographic areas; for example, between the inner city and the suburb. It also shows differences between classes of schools; for example, schools in relatively affluent neighborhoods as compared to schools in poor neighborhoods, or differences between schools whose children perform well or poorly.

This type of data highlights the problem and presumably puts the problem into the political arena where it can be dealt with and, as you are so well aware, the very essence of politics is how resources are distributed. If an assessment is conducted on a periodic basis, it can show progress toward or away from a more equitable distribution of education.

A second major problem we all face, and I think this is the problem with which educators are most concerned, is how to construct the best program or curriculum for children. We need two kinds of information to get at this problem. First, we need to know what sorts of things children know and do not know so we can decide what areas to address. Second, we need to know what sorts of things are related to student performance and schools so that we may appropriately modify program, curriculum, and environment.

Information for the first purpose, through our program, can be provided at State, district, school, and even individual pupil level. That is, we can provide information about the general kinds of skills and knowledges that children of the State have, that the children of the district have, or the children of the school have. We also can indicate what general sorts of things an individual child knows or does not know.

This information in conjunction with the information a district or school already has can be useful in setting major program or curriculums goals.

Studies Prove Difficulties

Now, if we also knew what sorts of things are related to student performance, be they school variables or student background variables, we would have a start on knowing how to modify the schools and their environments to meet curricular objectives; but this last statement I well realize, at this point in our history, is not much more than an optimistic expression of where we in education, would like to be. As countless studies have shown, it is very difficult to distinguish between the influence of the student's social background and the influence of the school. This makes it difficult, if not impossible, to tell in any specific way how much of a change can be produced in certain school out-

comes by systematically altering school characteristics, such as the amount any kind of training received by teachers.

In my prepared statement I have attemted to give you a broad brush stroke picture of our current educational assessment effort in Michican, including some of the problems and also some of the promises inherent in large-scale assessment effort. I am sure that I have not done justice to the topic. There is much more that could be said as well as much more that could be written about our efforts in this area.

To parapharase George Mayeske, we are embarking upon a long voyage into an only partially explored ocean. The completion of that voyage will not automatically alleviate the educational problems facing the State; it will, however, provide further information to those concerned with those problems. Used creatively, we feel that that information can result in improved education for Michigan children.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you very much, Dr. Kearney, for a most useful statement and for what is really a very commendable effort.

Would you tell me something about your background, since this is a highly technical field. Are you an evaluation expert or a teacher or——

Dr. KEARNEY. I am essentially, Senator, by training, experience, and design, an administrator; but I think an administrator who is very much interested in providing information to people who make decisions about education. I should honestly say that I am not a measurement and testing man.

Senator MONDALE. You have such skills in-house, though?

Dr. KEARNEY. Yes, we do.

Senator MONDALE. This is the third year of the Michigan testing effort?

Dr. KEARNEY. Yes, sir.

Senator MONDALE. Are there any other States which have as ambitious a testing assessment program as Michigan?

Dr. KEARNEY. There are several States at the present time who are not only extremely interested in this type of an effort, but who have taken considerable steps to move in that direction. The State of Pennsylvania, for example, back in 1964, passed some legislation and as a result of this initiated their quality assessment project. They have not, in many ways, moved as rapidly as we have. They have done testing. They have used essentially samples.

ASSESSMENTS OF OTHER STATES

The State of Colorado currently is undertaking an assessment effort. The State of California, in one form or another, has been involved in this for the past several years. The State of New York, of course, has been in this assessment effort for several years and there are other States. We are constantly, I guess consistently, getting inquiries about what it is we did, and I suppose, how not to make the same mistakes.

Senator MONDALE. I do not want to put your humility to too great a test, but would it be accurate to say that Michigan is probably as far along and has had as much experience with educational testing assessments as any State in the Union?

Dr. KEARNEY. I think it would be fair to say that we are as far along and have had a great deal of experience in large-scale State assessment, yes.

Senator MONDALE. You have completed 2 years and you are starting your third year?

Dr. KEARNEY. Yes, sir.

Senator MONDALE. How is this data made available? Can the general public obtain all or part of it? In other words, this may be made available to the State department and to school administrators, but is it also fully available to the citizenry?

Dr. KEARNEY. Yes and no, and let me talk a little bit about the historical chronology of this. In the initial year of the program, 1969–70, we did publish two public documents which identified for the citizens of the State, or for anyone who would read the document, the levels of the measures, both the achievement measures and the measures related to achievement; and also a document which dealt with the distribution of these various measures.

In these documents, no single school district was identified. They were treated as school districts belonging to one of five community types and/or in one of four geographic regions.

In the second year of the program, 1970–71, the State board's intent was to publicly release results of the assessment effort by districts; in other words, to deal with school districts. We presently have such a document in press and will be coming out with it shortly.

This document will list the district mean scores for each of the 25 assessment variables for each district in the State of Michigan. They will be categorized according to community types served and listed alphabetically.

That is the extent, to date, of what we have done in terms of public release of data, Senator.

Senator MONDALE. Why did you pick the 4th and 7th grades for the purpose of your two tests?

Dr. KEARNEY. We felt initially that an assessment effort did not necessarily need to go to each grade level and that what you were after, in a sense, was a sounding of the system. Ideally, we thought that there should be about five points from which you would draw data and thus be able to say something about the entire system.

FIVE-POINT GUIDELINE

First, we thought it would be ideal to pull data from the beginning of the process, down around kindergarten or the 1st grade. Because of some technical problems involved here, we are not yet at this level.

Second, we thought it would be important to get data at the point where the schools would be concluding what we normally refer to as the primary cycle, grade 3; therefore, we are in at 4th—in the middle of the 4th grade.

The third point that we thought would be important would be at about that point where the child finished his intermediate schooling, began junior high school; consequently, we are in the 7th grade.

The fourth point that would be essential would be at the completion of elementary schooling and at the beginning of high school, around grade 9 or 10.

Then the fifth point, at the conclusion of the process, in grade 12.

The national assessment goes one step further and suggests that one really ought to get a reading of the adult population above the age of 25.

We see five essential points and we feel that we have begun at two of those points, Senator.

Senator MONDALE. What has surprised you most about the disclosures of this data? What had you anticipated—which upon receiving this data, proved to be inaccurate or not as accurate as you thought it was?

Dr. KEARNEY. Excuse me, I think your question is what surprised us perhaps in the data rather than what surprised us about the fact that certain things happened when we released the data?

Senator MONDALE. I am thinking in the broad school policy sector now. We all have assumptions about our own personal strategy for education which assumes certain theories: for example, that money makes a difference, or whatever else it is. Now, you have had 2 years, going into your third year, in which you tried to compare achievement levels with inputs, with attitudes, and so forth. What sorts of results surprised you the most?

Dr. KEARNEY. Well, in many ways, I guess we were not surprised at all. There were some small surprises from time to time, but I suspect it is not incorrect to say that most of the hypotheses that we had in our minds were essentially held up and that what we were doing was, to a large extent, documenting the situation in the State of Michigan.

For example, we found a very high correlation between relative socioeconomic status for groups of children and composite achievement. This held at both the building level and at the district level.

Senator MONDALE. So that the higher the social and economic class of the student body, the higher its achievement level?

GROUP MEASURE USED

Dr. KEARNEY. Yes. We used a group measure of socioeconomic status. We got correlations at the building level on the order of .75, which is essentially saying that you can account for about half of the variance in the composite achievement scores by knowing what the group SES score is.

Senator MONDALE. And that did not surprise you?

Dr. KEARNEY. No.

Senator MONDALE. What else did you find?

Dr. KEARNEY. Second, we found there was a high negative correlation between the percent minority students in a given district and composite achievement. This really was not surprising either, because there is also, as you probably are well aware, a fairly high correlation at the present time in our history between that variable and SES.

Senator MONDALE. So that you might be saying at this point pretty much the same thing?

Dr. KEARNEY. Yes.

Senator MONDALE. Because the first point, the richer the families of a particular school the more likely it is their achievement is higher; and the second point you found out was the higher the proportion of poor minorities, the lower the achievement; but that might be saying

the same thing. For example, a poor black ghetto school is composed of the poorest of all.

Dr. KEARNEY. Yes.

Senator MONDALE. Therefore, in one sense, it is the same thing.

Dr. KEARNEY. There was a very high correlation or substantial correlation between the percent minority and the SES variable.

Senator MONDALE. Now, to what extent, if any, did you find that the SES theory was contradicted by the minority theory?

Dr. KEARNEY. To what extent did we find that the SES——

Senator MONDALE. To what extent did you find that the SES theory was contradicted by the minority theory? In other words, do you have an upper-middle-class black school in Detroit which failed to fall in a consistent theory with the SES theory?

Dr. KEARNEY. Well, yes. There were, in several instances, exceptions to what we found in terms of the correlations, both at the building level and the district level, for all of the schools and for all of the districts in Michigan.

For instance, the proportion of racial minority members in a given school or district would, I am sure, strongly be conditioned by their relative socioeconomic status; if, indeed, you were dealing with relatively middle or higher class SES people, the variable on minority membership washed out.

Senator MONDALE. Did you discover anything else to confirm these basic theories or anything else that surprised you?

LOW CORRELATION BETWEEN EXPENDITURE AND ACHIEVEMENT

Dr. KEARNEY. We were somewhat surprised, I suspect, that we had such a low correlation between educational expenditure data and composite achievement, but we have not thoroughly analyzed that data and I suspect that part of our surprise is due to the fact that we were dealing there with district level scores. We were not able to break these costs down, for instance, in terms of school building, so the only correlations with which we were working, in terms of financial resources, were at the district level.

Senator MONDALE. I think you pointed out—or at least we had this information earlier from another witness—that the per pupil expenditure levels in Michigan vary from approximately $1,200 in the richer schools to approximately $450 in some of the poorer schools.

Dr. KEARNEY. About $475 to $1,275.

Senator MONDALE. Didn't your findings show that one of the poorest schools had one of the highest achievement levels?

Dr. KEARNEY. Yes.

Senator MONDALE. Beaver Island?

Dr. KEARNEY. Yes.

Senator MONDALE. Can you tell us about that?

Dr. KEARNEY. I suspect that Beaver Island is certainly an exception to the rule. Senator Hart is probably more familiar with Beaver Island than I am.

Senator HART. A great place.

Dr. KEARNEY. I think, Senator, here, without attempting to explain what and why Beaver Island was an exception, it is perhaps a unique situation.

Senator MONDALE. And it is a very small school system.

Senator HART. You would not want the record to show, would you—no matter what my loyalties might be—it is not just because they are of Irish extraction?

Dr. KEARNEY. I would not argue with that, Senator.

Senator MONDALE. Was there anything else that surprised you?

Dr. KEARNEY. Not really. I suppose in one way, while I recognize the problems in trying to identify variables and then to establish relationships among so-called inputs and outputs, that in a way we were not surprised, but I am sure had hoped that we might find some higher correlations in terms of some of the inputs and conditions.

Senator MONDALE. I assume that the whole reason for this testing program is to help guide Michigan to deliver a more equal and effective education to its schoolchildren; that is the reason for the program?

Dr. KEARNEY. Yes.

Senator MONDALE. If the commissioner of education called you in and said, "Now, you have been at this for 2 years. What are the key recommendations that you would make based upon what you have learned from this data, in directing the educational policy of Michigan," what would you say?

KEY RECOMMENDATIONS

Dr. KEARNEY. Well, I think I would say what we did say about 6 or 8 months ago; and that was, to realign, if you will, the compensatory education program that was funded by State funds under Section 3 of the State school aid act. The program is about 4 years old and in many ways was analogous to the Title I effort at the Federal level.

In the initial year of the program they used socioeconomical status kinds of indicators to determine which schools would be eligible in any given district. That went on for 2 years. In the third year of the program they began to use data from the assessment program. They used two criteria. One was our relative measure of socioeconomic status and the other was our composite achievement score. They ran into problems—I should say, we ran into problems with the socioeconomic status measure because it was not designed to do that and it was not such a fine discriminator for deciding which schools among the bottom quartile ought to receive X or Y points. However, what we have done this year, and the legislature has seen fit to adopt it as a vital element in the State school aid act, is to suggest that the $23 million that eventually came into that section be allocated on the following basis: We would use the assessment data, namely, the composite achievement scores, in grades 4 and 7 as a measure of need; as a measure of need in terms of deficiencies in the basic cognitive skills. Through a process, we then calculated which districts, in a sense, were more impacted than ohers with numbers of children who, at least according to the assessment data, were deficient in the basic cognitive skills.

On the basis of these data, then they became eligible for $200 per pupil in addition to their regular State and other aid.

Senator MONDALE. In other words, your first and key recommendation was the establishment of what I think you called Section 3?

Dr. KEARNEY. It was the modification of it in a sense, Senator.

Senator MONDALE. What it did was to establish a Title I type of assistance, for a category of children, based more on the achievement scores than on the SES situation?

Dr. KEARNEY. Yes. Now, the program was in existence. I would emphasize, and what our suggestion was for the current school year was to use a measure as defined by deficiency in the basic cognitive skills as a basic need rather than simply using SES or some combination of that.

Senator MONDALE. What was there in your data that justified that strategy? I thought you just said that SES was the best determiner of achievement. Why would you not then put the money in at the lowest SES level?

Dr. KEARNEY. It was the best predictor; but even though it has a correlation of .75 at the building level, it is suggesting that you are only accounting for about half of the so-called variance. Why not simply use the achievement measures, which is what you are after anyway? We were interested in a sense in directing the program to educational needs as defined by deficiencies in those cognitive skills, regardless of the particular SES background of the children or regardless of the particular SES background of a group of children.

Senator MONDALE. I understood your tests to show that there was a very loose correlation between financial inputs into a school system and achievement levels.

Dr. KEARNEY. Yes, sir. Let me go on.

Senator MONDALE. Then your first recommendation is more money?

Dr. KEARNEY. It was not simply more money. We had two or three other elements in it which I think are quite different.

Number one, as I indicated, we used the composite achievement score data to get a measure of need and to determine eligibility. Second, we then said that for any district that became eligible it would receive up to $200 per child if it met two or three conditions: No. 1, it would outline in terms of performance objectives what it intended to do for those children in terms of increasing their learnings in these skills. Second, that on the basis of pre- and post-testing, they would demonstrate, indeed, that they had achieved the equivalent of 1 year's growth in these children and that if they did not do this, then they were not going to be funded at the same level in subsequent years.

The program is a 3-year program and the legislature authorized it for 3 years and said that in the second and third year of the program you also will receive $200 for each of these children, providing that in each individual case you can demonstrate that you have made a difference, leaving it up to the local school districts largely to determine the program for these particular children.

Senator MONDALE. This reminds me of phase II of the economic program. Are there some elements that you can recommend, based on your testing, to local school districts as being advisable in achieving this year's growth on an annual basis?

Dr. KEARNEY. No, sir.

Senator MONDALE. Do you leave that up to the local level?

Dr. KEARNEY. Not from the assessment data itself. But what we would hope to see is that different school districts do employ different kinds of programs and methods to do this, and an integral part of this would be evaluation at the local level of the efficacy of those particular programs.

On the basis of that kind of data, one ought to be able to identify successful practices, unsuccessful practices, promising kinds of practices and, of course, hopefully, new kinds of programs or delivery systems for doing a better job.

Senator MONDALE. But at this point, you would have to say that we are still groping for those answers?

Dr. KEARNEY. Yes, sir.

Senator MONDALE. And the data does not—as these programs are tested it may give us additional points, but at this point what you have done, in effect, with Section 3 is to fund schools which have had this phenomenon of low achievers, and give them some money to try to improve that achievement, if they make the commitment, and if they have a reasonable strategy for trying to achieve it. Then we will find out whether they can make it, and we will monitor as they proceed. That is basically what your key recommendation is?

Dr. KEARNEY. Yes, sir; and the assessment data, of course, was used only to indicate the need.

Another very important step would be evaluation, which is not assessment, but the evaluation of the efficacy of those programs in each and every case in the individual districts.

Senator MONDALE. So actually, you came up with what is really—I think they call it a performance contract, except you did it within the school system rather than picking an outside private contractor?

Dr. KEARNEY. Yes, sir; it is essentially a performance contract between the State and the school district.

Senator MONDALE. So a local school district that needs the money can say, "If we really do our job we will continue to get $200 more a pupil in State aid than if we fail?"

Dr. KEARNEY. Yes; if they fail in the sense of not achieving the minimum, they are not cut out entirely. They are funded proportionately on a reverse sliding scale.

Senate MONDALE. Senator Hart.

Senator HART. Thank you, Doctor, for helping us to better understand the picture in Michigan. I am not on this committee and I sit here with the courtesy and leave of the chairman, Senator Mondale, but I do it because I can think of nothing that is more important for Michigan's future than improving the quality of education—or the country, either.

Having said that, it is my alibi for asking some questions which I am sure will sound very immature and stupid; but on page 2, which is the very first part of your statement, you say that the Michigan Department of Education was provided with funds and given a mandate to undertake two things; first, to try to put together a State program for periodic comprehensive assessment of educational progress; and second, the immediate assessment of certain basic skills.

Now, on that second one, basic skills, I take it, is there absolute agreement that those are measurable?

Basic Skills Are Measurable

Dr. Kearney. We defined basic skills in the initial 2 years of the program as essentially reading; the mechanics of written English, which was not all of writing but at least some portion of it; and mathematics. I suspect that there is essential agreement among most people that one of the tasks of the schools is, indeed, to see that children do acquire these kinds of learnings and skills.

I think they would quickly add, as I would, that schools also exist to do some other kinds of things; that, while reading, writing, and arithmetic are very important and very fundamental, that should not, hopefully, be all the schools are doing.

Senator Hart. Whatever our view on that, and I think our views are similar, but are reading, writing, and arithmetic measurable skills?

Dr. Kearney. I would say so, Senator.

Senator Hart. So that the second of the two efforts that you are undertaking deals with something that is measurable.

Now, the first one, an assessment of educational progress, is this measurable with the same confidence and accuracy?

Dr. Kearney. Not really, and this refers, of course, later in the statement to one of the assumptions that we made. We said that in the long run and ideally, of course, an assessment program ought to include as output or outcome measures not only reading, writing, and arithmetic, but other things which we would get some general agreement on as to why schools exist; whether that be the sciences, social studies, the area of citizenship, or the area of values and atttiudes.

We did point out that we felt the state of the art, so to speak, was relatively well advanced in terms of the cognitive skills and that we could move pretty expeditiously to begin measurement in that area. We pointed out that measurement in these other areas, the so-called affective domain and the psychomotor domain, for example——

Senator Hart. What are those?

Measurement of Affective Domain

Dr. Kearney. The so-called affective domain, which is feelings and values and attitudes as opposed to cognitive things such as mathematics. The psychomotor is really muscle coordination and motor skills and the kinds of things that physical education programs would be trying to develop.

Particularly in the affective domains the state of the art is not very well advanced. It is a very difficult area to begin to measure. It is a very difficult area to define. It is very difficult to get hold of, in a sense, but there are some things beginning to be done in this area, and we suggested that because we did not have good measurement in that area was no reason to turn away from the whole notion of assessment, but to proceed and hopefully, as we moved not only to refine and do a better job with the instruments that we wanted to measure the cognitive skills, eventually bring in some measurement of these other areas.

For example, while it is very primitive and very experimental, we included in 1969–70, and still have in the battery, a beginning measure of group attitudes. We know that it is primitive. We know it is experimental. We do not put a lot of stock in the particular measure we have, but we do think it is important that we make beginnings in this area and move in that direction.

Senator HART. I do not know what it would prove, or whether it is worth anything, but when you take and measure at the fourth and seventh grades, and you build in the socioeconomic element, the influence of the school already is reflected. Why would it not be useful to measure, rather than at the fourth and seventh grade, the first week of kindergarten or the first week of first grade, whichever is the first time the child becomes exposed to the school's influence? Would you be in a better position to identify the extent to which socioeconomic factors are at work, rather than waiting for the fourth and seventh grades?

Dr. KEARNEY. Yes, sir. The reason that we did not go initially to the kindergarten level or to the first grade level was because of some of the technical problems inherent in measuring at that level. We are reasonably sure that at about grade 4 we are getting some reasonable measures of cognitive skills. It is much more difficult at the first grade level.

Another factor was simple economics, so to speak. A child at the fourth or seventh grade level can very easily handle a separate score sheet most often, and can transfer his answers to that score sheet which, of course, is more efficient and more economical in terms of processing 300,000 students' scores. At the first grade level you almost have to resort, without exception, to having the child write his answers or mark his answers in the same booklet, which at the present time would require hand scoring of all this.

So we do eventually intend to gather data at that level. It was simply a problem that we did not think we could handle at that point.

Senator HART. As you have described it, in using this survey achievement test, you report the raw score and the comparative percentile figure. Now, obviously, of course, in drawing up percentile figures, somebody is going to be first and somebody is going to be last.

Has the State made any judgment on the meaning, the significance, in terms of education, of the raw figures? For example, at what point does a raw figure—a raw score mean that the child is getting a poor education?

Dr. KEARNEY. Well, whether it was a raw score or a percentile from the assessment battery—if we had a very low score on a child, I would suspect that as that data is fed back to the local district that somebody would be taking a look at that and coming to one of two conclusions in general, either that that was just a bad testing situation or that they had other kinds of information which would corroborate the fact that this child is at such a low level of efficiency—and they would move on from that point.

But it would be incorrect, Senator, to say that because a child scored at such and such on our assessment battery, that ergo, he was, without question, deficient. It would be an indication that somebody probably had better look and somebody had better find out whether or not that was simply a bad testing situation, or there were other data to support, indeed, that the child was at that point.

MOVING AWAY FROM USE OF NORMS

Another thing that I might add here is that we are using norm-referenced instruments, which as you well point out, puts somebody at the top and somebody at the bottom and also puts somebody at the middle,

and always puts 50 percent of somebody or something below the middle. We are very much interested in moving toward criterion-referenced testing which does not really report in terms of norms, but suggests that you are able to spell out what it is that you think the child ought to acquire and you report the data out in terms of the extent to which he has acquired it.

That has some very, very valid and useful purposes in an assessment effort. The only benefit is that once you have criterion-referenced data, not only can you use it in that fashion, but you can also report it in terms of norms, if you choose to do that.

The problem is, that while we have standardized testing and have had it a long time and have had norm-referenced instruments, the development of criterion-referenced instruments is in a relatively early and beginning stage at the present time. There is some good work being done in that area.

Senator HART. Well, absent criterion-reference data—assuming I understand what you are talking about—absent that, a person could take the achievement test scores with the raw figures and the percentile, and argue that everyone is getting a good education or nobody is getting a good education or that there is little difference between the winner and the loser. Is that true?

Dr. KEARNEY. Not on the basis of the data that we have at the present time, particularly in terms of pupils. There is a fairly broad range in terms of raw scores, rights and wrongs, that can be had; and consequently, a broad range in terms of reporting scores.

Senator HART. But are you in a position to tell us what score represents a good and what score represents a bad education?

Dr. KEARNEY. No, sir.

Senator HART. So the case could be made that it is all good or it is all bad or there is very little difference?

Dr. KEARNEY. I guess the case——

Senator HART. Until you come up with the answer?

IT IS ALL RELATIVE

Dr. KEARNEY. I guess the case could be made in a sense that it is all relative. If you had criterion reference instruments what you are saying before you do the measuring is that this is a minimum and this is good and this is excellent and this is not the minimum; and then you gather data and determine whether or not someone or some group reaches that.

Senator HART. Thank you very much.

Senator MONDALE. We had a witness here the other day, the superintendent of the Philadelphia school system, who wanted his school system to be nationalized—taken over by the Federal Government, he said, it is so bad. Using the Iowa basic skill test score, he said that in 50 of the ghetto schools two-thirds of the children received a score of 16 or less on that test, which to him meant that they were unable to understand what the teacher was saying or to function at the grade level they were in.

There must be some similar approximate score on the test that you give in arithmetic and reading, which demonstrates that the child is not getting it at all or getting it so minimally that he or she just simply cannot function. That must be true. Again, with zero, either the child

did not take the test or was sick or he did not understand it. At some point there must be some general idea that the child is just not going to be able to function.

Dr. KEARNEY. I guess I now see perhaps what Senator Hart was getting at and what you have asked. We have, in a sense, arbitrarily set a point. We did this in conjunction with the Section 3 Program that I referred to earlier, and we said that any child who falls at or below the 15th percentile would be a child who was defined for the purposes of that program as in need of substantive assistance in the basic cognitive skills, so that he was, indeed, deficient.

Senator MONDALE. In need of help, but is that finding based upon an earlier conclusion that any child who scores at 15 percentile or below is so far behind that he or she cannot function in that class?

Dr. KEARNEY. No. It was not based on that kind of assumption, Senator. We do not really, in all honesty, have a point in that scale at the present time which unequivocably could define for you where it is that a minimal level is achieved. In fact, we have attempted to do this, in some sense, after the fact; we intended to report back the 1970–71 data in this fashion, but we were not able to do it because of the technical difficulties involved.

Senator MONDALE. Well, how many questions would a child have answered correctly if he achieved a 15 percentile score? What percentage of questions asked did the child answer correctly?

Dr. KEARNEY. I would have to refer to my materials and take a look. I do not know off the top of my head.

Senator MONDALE. If it can be obtained quickly—otherwise, we will proceed.

Dr. KEARNEY. I can give you a couple of examples from the reading battery and the math battery. I do not have the data for putting these together in composite achievement scores.

For example, in grade 4, in terms of reading, if a child is at or below the 15th percentile, he has answered somewhere in the neighborhood of up to 18 out of 50 questions on the reading subtest.

Senator MONDALE. Answered correctly?

Dr. KEARNEY. Yes.

Senator MONDALE. So he got 32 wrong?

Dr. KEARNEY. Yes; or he did not answer 32. On the mathematics, for example, at the fourth grade level, a child who is at or below the 15th percentile has answered approximately 14 out of 40.

Senator MONDALE. How many would the child have wrong at the 95th percentile?

Dr. KEARNEY. The 95th percentile, at the fourth grade level on mathematics, he would have answered 35 out of 40 correctly.

SCHOOL RANKING

Senator MONDALE. If you had a school that ranked at the 95th percentile, would that mean that most of the children were at that score, or is that a different thing? Is the school ranking percentile different from the test ranking?

Dr. KEARNEY. Yes, sir; it would mean in that instance that the average in that particular district—the average pupil at that level had answered 35 out of 40. There would have been some considerable number of pupils who answered above it and some who answered

below it. What we have is a percentile ranking for individual pupils, so you have quite a broad range; and then we have a percentile ranking for schools which reduces that range because you are taking averages; and then a percentile range for districts which has reduced that range, too.

For example, the district which might score at the bottom of the percentile ranking in terms of district mean scores on composite achievement will have some children in each of the 10 deciles of the distribution. In other words, it may have 4 or 5 percent of its children who are scoring up at that 90th to 95th percentile, but it may have 15 or 20 percent of the children who are scoring down at the bottom of the scale. So you get a broad distribution in each school district. There is not a school district in the State of Michigan which does not have some children, on the basis of this battery, who are not achieving in the 90th or 95th percentile.

Senator MONDALE. You have some schools in the rich white suburbs where children are kicking the top off the test, most of them, and then you have some schools in the heart of the ghetto, with poor, disadvantaged children that are kicking the bottom off the test; is that correct?

Dr. KEARNEY. Essentially.

Senator MONDALE. How would you describe one of the worst and poorest black ghetto schools in terms of the degree to which their tests reflect underachievement? How many children would be underachieving?

Dr. KEARNEY. Let me attempt to do it in this way—and I am sorry I do not have some other data here. First, let me attempt to do it in terms of the district in general. Going back to my previous example of using the 15th percentile as the point where they were in serious need—and remember, these are State norms; these are not national norms—this is the actual norm distribution in the State of Michigan—the average district in Michigan, of course, would only have 15 percent of its children at or below the 15th percentile. We do have districts who have up to 48 percent of their children who score—at the fourth or seventh grade level—down in that particular category.

When you break that down and go into individual school buildings, there are cases where about 50 percent of the children scored at or below the 15th percentile on the basis of State norms.

INTRA-SCHOOL DIFFERENCES

Senator MONDALE. I read a recent study out of Harvard in which they concluded that within-school differences are as great as inter-school differences. In other words, if you looked at school A and school B and you averaged the results of each, you may find differences. But you have to look as well within a school, because of tracking and so on. You may find some superb classes with excellent teachers, doing very well, even though the average of that school is an abomination. Thus, it is essential not only to look at a school, but to look within a school at classes and almost at teachers and children to know what is working and how well they are doing.

For example, you may find a black ghetto school that looks very bad by statewide standards but, in fact, over the last 10 years it may just be that the percentage of children above class level has improved. So you condemn the school when, in fact, with all the disadvantages

they are working with there may be a principal and some teachers really doing a fairly good job. But within that same school, you may also find that the disadvantaged children are being badly cheated because of the tracking system.

Are all those things possible?

Dr. KEARNEY. I am sure they are. We tend to look at a State and we tend to look at the districts and see the differences between districts; and the next step, of course, is to see that within-district differences are greater than between-districts; and you are taking the next logical step, which is probably as important, that within-school differences are probably as great or greater than interschool differences.

Senator MONDALE. Your data does not get down that far, does it?

Dr. KEARNEY. We give back to the local school districts data on all the 4th and 7th graders. We do not gather the data in terms of particular classes within that 4th grade setup, but it would be possible, of course, for the school district that chose to do that to look at the data from that aspect.

Senator MONDALE. I take your data to be supportive of the general Coleman thesis that the higher SES classes do better than the lower SES classes. Thus, it just might be true that if you could bring poor, disadvantaged children into a stable, advantaged school life in numbers which did not cause white flight or disrupt the process of the majority attitudes and incentive and the rest, that this might result in a better achievement level for disadvantaged children than being in an all-disadvantaged school. In other words, a quality integrated setting.

Have you tested schools where you have a quality integrated environment to determine whether the poor children in that school system are doing better than poor children in a totally disadvantaged school body to determine whether there is a difference in performance?

Dr. KEARNEY. No, sir; we have not done that.

ROLE OF INTEGRATION IN ACHIEVEMENT

Senator MONDALE. Isn't that somewhat strange, when really it seems to me you have got three or four major strategies that are being thrashed around. One is money—sock it to them in the ghettos with lots of money. Another is integration; I am not talking about color mixing, I am not just talking about mixing poor blacks and poor whites, I am talking about an environment where you have an advantaged school population that does not feel threatened and you bring in poor, disadvantaged children, without threatening the good school system.

Do you have schools like that in Michigan?

Dr. KEARNEY. I suspect we do. As I said, we have not taken our assessment data and pursued this question; primarily, I think, because there are any number of questions that need to be pursued with the resource that we have in that data. However, because of some limitations on our own part, I suspect, we have not been able to do that. We have encouraged competent researchers from within the State or from outside the State to come in and pursue some of these questions with the data. We have underway two or three things in their initial stages with some people whom we think are very competent to do this. Our problem, Senator, has simply been time.

Senator MONDALE. Would it be fair to say at this point, for the reasons you have cited, that your data does not bear at all on the value of quality integration from an educational standpoint?

Dr. KEARNEY. Not really.

Senator HART. I wish you did have that data, Dr. Kearney, but having said that, I think we also ought to say that Michigan has, as far as I know, done a vastly greater job in the effort to identify the factors that make for good and bad education—where we stand district by district—than perhaps any place in the country. I am glad I am here this morning to thank you for it.

Dr. KEARNEY. Thank you, Senator.

Senator MONDALE. I agree with that. This is a pioneering effort. One of the key problems in American education is that the public is not permitted to know, what one statistician called the "hot facts." Not how many bricks or desks, but how are the children doing and the output questions. Michigan is to be commended for being one of the first to grapple with this highly explosive and yet essential effort, and I commend you for it.

Senator HART. Let me just tell Dr. Kearney that I have been reading in this field over the weekend. Let me try one statement that may ease the concerns of those who feel that our formal educational process and its product is unsatisfactory. To what extent do you agree with this:

> A major illusion on which the school system rests is that most learning is the result of teaching.

Now, maybe to buttress that a little in defense of the fellow whom I am quoting but will not identify:

> Teaching, it is true, may contribute to certain kinds of learning under certain circumstances, but most people acquire most of their knowledge outside the school and in school only so far as school, in a few rich countries, has become a place of confinement during an increasing part of their lives.

OUTSIDE INFLUENCE INSTRUMENTAL

Dr. KEARNEY. It has got to be John Holt or one of his colleagues. I would, I guess, certainly not disagree with the statement, Senator. There are all kinds of things that go on and all kinds of influences that come to bear upon a child or a youth outside of the school environs, and he brings these things with him into the school situation and the school is attempting to, in a sense, capitalize on these things to move him further in the areas that the school properly has the responsibility for.

I do think there are a lot of people in our Nation today who assume that the schools can do all things, and I do not think that they can do all things. I think there are so many outside and nonschool related factors operating that it becomes extremely difficult to put this kind of a burden or onus on the schools exclusively.

The schools certainly have a role to play, but I suspect they cannot be all things to all men.

Senator HART. While the chairman is regrouping here, I should add that, simply because a great deal of learning seems to happen casually, simply because it is a byproduct of some other activity, it does not excuse us from attempting to shore up planned learning which we describe as the school system.

Dr. KEARNEY. Right. There are alternatives, you know, that I think should properly be explored and properly made available for different kinds of learning situations. I think Mr. Edmonds suggested some things that we were doing in the area of career education, for example, that speak partially to this point.

Senator HART. The easiest example of what that fellow was talking about was that you are much more likely to learn a second language if you go live with your grandmother or marry a foreign-born girl, than if you spend 5 years in a German class.

Dr. KEARNEY. Yes.

Senator HART. That is the point that I think this fellow is making.

Senator MONDALE. I think one of the classic examples of failures of the traditional system in this country is greeting the child who cannot speak English with a teacher who cannot speak the child's language—Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, by the hundreds of thousands, especially Indian children. There are 200 Indian languages in this country. By and large, the first day in school consists of a teacher talking to them in a foreign language, out of a textbook that usually does not relate to the child. How that could be continued and thought to be education, I do not know.

There is one other question I wanted to ask. Do you suppose that we are getting—and I know your testimony tried to deal with this issue—getting too hungup with cognitive scores? I think a person has to read and write and be able to function in the classroom, but he does not have to be number 1 to be a very useful, contributing citizen. There is a Harvard study which indicates that there is only a very loose correlation between high cognitive achievement and educational attainment. There are a lot of social students in college who do very well in life and do a lot of important things.

Do we overemphasize the cognitive achievements, Doctor?

EMPHASIS ON BASIC SKILLS

Dr. KEARNEY. I think there is a danger of doing this, Senator. There is a danger, for example, in what we are doing. Because of limitations that we have at the present time, reading and writing and arithmetic become highly visible and are translated as the primary purpose of the school. This is something we are very much concerned with and why I say we would like to expand the program, as it were, horizontally to other kinds of areas.

For example, at the present time we are seriously considering trying, at least on a sampling basis, to come in with some experimental items in the area of fine arts, particularly music. I think there are a lot of people in Michigan who would think that, among other things, a child as a result of going to the public schools ought to have some experiences with basic learning and understanding in the area of music, and this could go on and on.

I think there is an inherent danger in mounting these programs that we do not simply stop at that point and deal with nothing more than reading, writing and arithmetic. I do think they are fundamental. I do think they are essential and certainly ought to be an integral part of any education.

THE MICHIGAN EDUCATIONAL ASSESSMENT PROGRAM

Prepared Statement of Dr. C. Philip Kearney
Associate Superintendent for Research and School Administration,
Michigan Department of Education

before the

U.S. Senate Select Committee
on Equal Educational Opportunity

Washington, D.C.
November 1, 1971

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, my name is Philip Kearney. I am the Associate Superintendent for Research and School Administration, Michigan Department of Education. On behalf of the State Board of Education and the Michigan Department of Education, I am pleased to be here today and to describe for you the Michigan Educational Assessment Program.

My statement is divided into three parts. In Part I, I shall describe for you the educational assessment program as it was first conceived and implemented in 1969-70. I shall also discuss briefly certain of the major findings of the 1969-70 effort. In Part II, I shall describe the assessment program as it operated during its second year, 1970-71. Finally, I shall discuss the objectives and procedures of the 1971-72 educational assessment program. I also have attached to this statement a bibliography which lists the several available reports in our assessment series, as well as other available articles and documents describing different aspects of the program.

PART I

THE FIRST YEAR OF THE PROGRAM: 1969-70

On August 12, 1969, Michigan Governor William Milliken signed into law Public Act 307. For the casual observer, this event appeared of no great import; it was an event that had recurred annually for the past 100 or more years. The purpose of Act 307 was to appropriate operating funds to the Department of Education for the 1969-70 fiscal year. Of great significance, however, was a section newly added to the bill which launched the State of Michigan on an unprecedented effort directed toward assessing the progress of the State's K-12 educational system.

Under the provisions of Section 14 of Act 307, the Michigan Department of Education was provided with funds and given a mandate to undertake: (1) the planning and development of a State program for a periodic and comprehensive assessment of educational progress, and (2) the immediate assessment of certain basic skills at one or more grade levels during the 1969-70 school year.

The August 12 signing by Governor Milliken represented the culmination of seven months of effort on the part of the State Board of Education, the Superintendent of Public Instruction, and Department of Education staff. Recognizing the scarcity of reliable information concerning the progress of education in the State of Michigan, staff members in the Department's Bureau of Research, early in 1969, began developing a series of staff papers outlining the problem and suggesting alternative solutions. These ideas were articulated publicly in three memoranda from Dr. Ira Polley, then State Superintendent of Public Instruction, to members of the State Board of Education. On April 23, 1969, the State Board of Education responded by directing the Superintendent to prepare and submit appropriate legislation

for the periodic assessment of educational progress in the public elementary and secondary schools of Michigan. The State Legislature's subsequent response was embodied in Section 14 of Enrolled Senate Bill 68 which, upon the Governor's signature, became Act 307.

The Nature of Assessment

What is assessment? How did it differ from anything we already were doing? Why did we embark on such a program? What will be the benefits? These and similar questions have been, are being, and probably will continue to be raised by school people and the general public.

Let us first consider the question, "What is assessment?" We initially defined assessment as:

> The determination over time of the outcomes of education interpreted in light of differing resource levels and differing community and pupil background characteristics.

There were at least four assumptions implicit in this definition. First, there was the implicit assumption that the learnings children acquire as a result of schooling are related to or influenced by a great many factors—both school and nonschool. Second, there was the assumption that, although there are identifiable purposes and goals of education which may differ from district to district, building to building, and child to child, there also are certain common goals and purposes toward which all public schools in Michigan are or should be working. Additionally, there was the assumption that these common goals and purposes could be identified and agreed upon. Third, there was the assumption that methodologies were available, or could be developed, which would allow one to determine the progress made toward achieving these goals. Fourth, our definition contained the implicit assumption that performance levels as well as the many factors that influence performance were inequitably distributed among Michigan's public schools.

The First Assumption

Our first assumption maintained that school system performance levels are influenced by a host of factors—both school-related and nonschool related. In any effort to assess our schools, we maintained that measures in addition to performance measures should be collected and used in analyzing and reporting results. There is a good deal of evidence available to demonstrate that children in different communities—and sub-communities—do not have the same opportunities, in and out of school, to achieve. To compare the performance of two groups with different opportunities would be tantamount to comparing the output of two Detroit automobile plants when one has special machinery, excellent working conditions, and experienced workers while the other has outmoded machinery, a poor working environment, and inexperienced workers. To look at production without also considering the raw materials available for production could lead to wrong conclusions about the process.

Henry Dyer, in discussing a plan for evaluating the quality of educational programs in Pennsylvania, identifies four critical factors that affect the operating of a school system.[1] The first of these he terms input, that is, the characteristics of the children whom schools must teach. As Dyer points out, "pupils enter school with different abilities, attitudes, values, and habits, and the school has to start with the children as it finds them."[2] The second critical factor he terms conditions—schools carry out their operations under "differing conditions in the home, the school, and the community that put unavoidable constraints on what a school can accomplish with its pupils. A school in an urban slum must cope with conditions vastly different from those confronting a school in an upper-class suburb."[3] The third critical factor identified by Dyer is educational process—different schools attack their unique set of inputs and conditions

using different educational processes. The fourth of Dyer's critical factors is output—what the pupils from that school have learned and can do.

In short, our first assumption held that any attempt to compare the effectiveness of educational programs used by different school systems called for interpretations of outcomes in light of the inputs and the conditions with which the schools have to work.

The Second Assumption

Our second assumption held that there are a common set of purposes and goals toward which all public schools in Michigan should be working. This was not to deny the existence of other goals and purposes which may be unique to a given district, a given building, a given class, or a given pupil. Rather it was to assert there is a commonality of educational purposes throughout the schools of Michigan. Everywhere in the State, schools are teaching children to read, to write effectively, to add, subtract, multiply, and divide. A recent bulletin of the National Education Association puts it this way.

> "Throughout our country there is a similarity of educational objectives—and a diversity of means to achieve them. Schools everywhere are teaching children to read, to use language effectively, to compute, to solve problems requiring the collection and application of relevant data, to develop employable skills, to understand our government, and to take an informed part in civic affairs. These are common aims; we differ in the means we use to attain them."[4]

We proposed that the common aims of Michigan's public schools could be identified and that consensus could be achieved among educators, scholars, and lay citizens as to what these common aims are or should be.

The Third Assumption

Our third assumption held that methodologies for measuring, or otherwise determining, attainments in these common goal areas existed at the time

or were capable of being developed. The argument that current methodologies are imperfect for measuring many of the important objectives of education is a legitimate criticism. However, we maintained that it would be a mistake to abandon all attempts to assess progress in education until such time as more perfect measures are at hand. We have been measuring achievement in education for a long time and technologies in these areas are relatively well developed. However, measures of the "higher mental processes," of creative and imaginative thinking, of desirable attitudes and interests, and of other vastly important aspects of education demand better tools than are now available. Instruments to measure these areas are being developed, but are yet very inadequate. This does not mean we should wait for perfect tools. It means we should admit the imperfections of our instruments and work to improve evaluation techniques over time. It also means that we should be very cautious in the interpretation of results.

In an assessment of educational progress for Michigan, we emphasized that: (1) the measurement of instructional outcomes need not, in and of itself, be considered a sufficient indicator of educational performance, but rather just one component of the many and varied State and local efforts to understand the process of education; and (2) the assessment effort need not limit itself to the "easy-to-measure" aspects of pupil achievement. We maintained that, over time, a comprehensive battery of instruments could be developed to survey both cognitive and affective outcomes within a wide range of subject areas; and efforts could be continuously underway to improve imperfect assessment methodologies.

The Fourth Assumption

Our fourth assumption held that performance levels and the many factors—both school related and nonschool related—that influence performance were

inequitably distributed among the schools of the State. In fact, we maintained that this was the most important education-related problem facing the State—and indeed the nation. Several recent surveys have documented this mal-distribution of opportunity in Michigan. Thomas, for example, surveyed the State's school finance arrangements in 1967 and concluded that, "There is great variation in the educational opportunities available to children in the State of Michigan."[5] Guthrie, Kleindorfer, Levin, and Stout, in a 1969 study, formed a relationship between socioeconomic status and the provision of school services that held for school districts, individual schools, and individual students: "High quality school services are provided to children from wealthy homes. Poor quality services are provided to children from poor homes."[6] More recently, the Michigan Department of Education published a report showing that the State's highest expenditure district spent $1,178 per pupil in 1968-69 while the lowest spent only $445.[7]

There appeared to be little question, then, but that performance levels, resource levels, and community and pupil background characteristics were inequitably distributed among the school districts of the State. Furthermore, there was strong evidence to suggest that such inequities were even more extreme within the State's larger districts.

Why Assess?

There was a fifth assumption implicit in the initial effort to assess education in Michigan, namely, that the information acquired would be useful. The existing situation, as described in the above discussion of our fourth assumption, offered the most pressing reason to embark on a state-wide program of educational assessment. Evidence of instructional outcomes for Michigan's schools—at least on a state-wide basis—was virtually

nonexistent as a guide upon which to base future action. Aside from Thomas' work—and it is important to note that, for the most part, data on performance were not available to him—the evaluation of this State's performance in meeting the needs of its pupils, in providing equal educational opportunities for all of its citizens, and in upgrading the quality of its educational effort—remained at best a guesswork procedure. We did not know how efficiently, or how equitably we were educating our children.[8]

The ultimate goal of the assessment effort, then, was to provide reliable and meaningful information on the outcomes of public elementary and secondary education in Michigan interpreted in light of those important school-related and nonschool-related factors which influence the attainment of these outcomes. A second goal—and one closely related to the one above—was to improve the basis for educational decision-making over time. It was expected that with more and better information: (1) the general public would increase its understanding of the attainments, the needs, and the problems of the schools; (2) the State Legislature would be better able to enact legislation appropriate to the educational needs of the State; (3) the efforts of the Department of Education would be facilitated in identifying needs and priorities for purposes of planning and directing the improvement of education in the State; and (4) local school districts would be assisted in their efforts to identify needs and priorities as they plan and administer local school programs.

Assessment Activities for 1969-70

Now that I have discussed briefly our initial thinking regarding the nature of assessment and the reasons why we should assess, the next logical question is how did we go about it? What activities took place during 1969-70? As stated earlier, the legislation regarding assessment consisted of

two parts. The first part directed the Department of Education to begin the planning and development of a comprehensive and periodic assessment of educational progress. The second part of the legislation directed the Department to undertake immediately an annual assessment of basic skills.

Planning and Developing a Comprehensive Assessment Program

The more difficult task was to plan, develop, and implement a comprehensive assessment program. And it should be emphasized that we felt that full development and implementation of such a program would not be achieved in the period of one year—nor would it be achieved without the cooperation and involvement of professional educators and lay citizens.

We viewed the planning and development phase as involving two interdependent states: (1) identifying and defining the goals of Michigan education, and (2) developing techniques to assess these educational goal areas. In order to identify and define those educational outcomes that are deemed essential for young people to live constructively in our society, we proposed the formation of a committee broadly representative of the lay public, scholars, and professional educators. The purpose of this group was to assist the Department in reviewing, defining, and clarifying the State's common educational goals. In June of 1970, this task force presented its recommendations to the State Board.

The second stage of the planning and development phase required that the goals identified be translated into pupil performance and techniques be developed which would give an indication of our progress toward these goals. For example, an educational goal might be that "the schools should help children acquire understanding and appreciation of persons belonging to social, cultural, and ethnic groups different from their own." As herein stated, progress toward this goal would be difficult—if not impossible—to measure.

Yet, if this is an important goal, we felt that techniques must be developed which would assist us in determining the degree to which we have been successful in attaining this objective.

As these goal areas were defined and operationalized, as performance data on outcomes were subsequently made available, and as data describing the factors that strongly influence performance levels—i.e., data on the "inputs" and "conditions"—were collected and fed into the system, then we felt that information would become available to provide answers to the following basic questions:

1. For the State as a whole, what are the present levels of inputs and the levels of educational performance?
2. For Michigan's geographic regions and community types, what are the present levels of inputs and the levels of educational performance?
3. Do schools that score hig (or low or average) in the various input measures also score high (or low or average) in educational performance levels?
4. What changes over time may be noted in the answers to the above questions?

Assessment of Achievement in Basic Skills

The basic skills component of assessment rested firmly on the assumption that at least one common goal area for Michigan education—namely, the acquisition of basic skills in the use of words and numbers—already had been identified and defined, and that techniques were available to begin assessment in that area. Unlike certain outcome areas such as those dealing with attitudes, aspirations, and interests, we felt that implementation of a program to assess basic skills would not require several months and years

of planning—but could be undertaken almost immediately.

It was stated earlier that the principal objective of state assessment was to provide reliable and meaningful information on both the outcomes and related inputs of public elementary and secondary education in Michigan. How, then, would the basic skills component contribute toward achieving this objective?

The 1969-70 Michigan Educational Assessment Program gathered comprehensive information regarding the State's schools and school districts from two sources: (1) educational and financial records maintained by the Department; and (2) an educational assessment battery which was administered to the State's 320,000 fourth and seventh graders in January, 1970. This information was of three basic types: (1) information regarding students' background characteristics; (2) information regarding school district educational resources (including data descriptive of finances and staff); and (3) information regarding student/school performance (including data descriptive of students' attitudes and students' achievement in the basic skills). Figure 1 presents a list of measures used in the 1969-70 educational assessment.

The 1969-70 educational assessment program was designed and administered in order to provide information for resource allocation and for major curricular decisions. Three specific objectives were stated for the program. These were:

1. To provide data that would show the levels of educational performance and certain other educational assessment measures within Michigan's geographic regions and community types (note: Figure 2 provides an explanation of the geographic regions and community types used in 1969-70);

FIGURE 1

Measures Used in the 1969-70 Educational Assessment

Student Background

1. Students' estimate of socioeconomic status

School Resources

Human Resources

2. Pupil-teacher ratio*
3. Average years teaching experience*
4. Per cent of teachers with masters degrees*
5. Average teacher salary*

Financial Resources

6. State equalized valuation per-pupil*
7. Local revenue per-pupil*
8. State school aid per-pupil*
9. K-12 instructional expense per-pupil*
10. Total operating expense per-pupil*

Student/School Performance

Attitudes and Aspirations

11. Importance of school achievement
12. Self perception
13. Attitude toward school

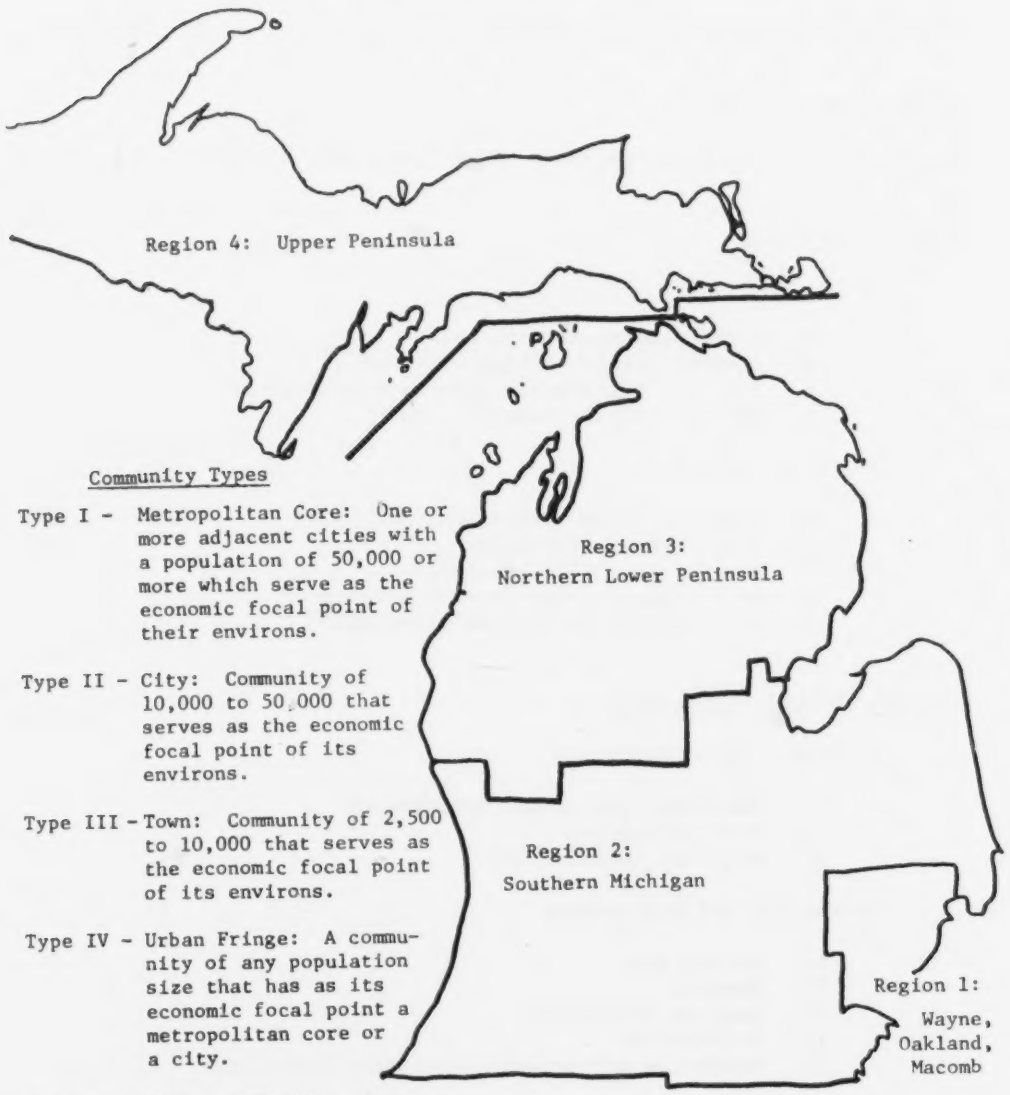
Vocabulary and Achievement

14. Vocabulary
15. Reading
16. English expression
17. Mathematics
18. Composite achievement (excludes vocabulary)

*These measures were available at the school district level only in 1969-70.

FIGURE 2

Regions and Community Types Used in the 1969-70 Assessment



Community Types

Type I - Metropolitan Core: One or more adjacent cities with a population of 50,000 or more which serve as the economic focal point of their environs.

Type II - City: Community of 10,000 to 50,000 that serves as the economic focal point of its environs.

Type III - Town: Community of 2,500 to 10,000 that serves as the economic focal point of its environs.

Type IV - Urban Fringe: A community of any population size that has as its economic focal point a metropolitan core or a city.

Type V - Rural Community: A community less than 2,500.

2. To provide data that would indicate the ways in which educational performance and certain factors related to performance were distributed in Michigan; and
3. To provide local school district officials and citizens with information regarding their own district and its schools.

The Limits of Educational Assessment

Before presenting certain summary results of the 1969-70 educational assessment effort it would be well to discuss three major types of problems that limited the program's procedures and results. It may be noted that these problems face all those who would devise large-scale educational evaluation or assessment efforts.

Determining the Goals of Education

It is said that our schools exist to serve a variety of purposes. Most would agree that they exist in part to teach children how to read, how to communicate, and how to cipher. It might also be argued, however, that schools exist to do such things as teach an understanding of science and government; to develop certain values in children and youth; and so forth. Educational assessment programs cannot simultaneously measure all educational outcomes; they must limit themselves to measurement of those few educational goals upon which agreement can be reached and for which measurement devices can be constructed. In 1969-70, the Michigan program measured two educational goal areas: achievement in the basic skills and student attitudes.

Measuring Facets of Educational Systems

There are a number of problems involved in the measurement of various aspects of educational systems. It was previously mentioned that three types of measures were obtained in the 1969-70 Michigan assessment: student

background; school resources; and student/school performance. The problems of obtaining data for each of these three types of measures will be discussed separately.

Student background measures. A great deal of controversy surrounded the Department's measure of student background in 1969-70 because the State Legislature used these data as a partial criterion for allocating 17.5 million dollars in state aid to elementary schools with concentrations of so-called "disadvantaged" children.

Despite this controversy—and despite the impossibility of reaching absolute agreement on a definition of socioeconomic status—SES data were gathered for the assessment program for two reasons: (1) because the social background of students has been shown related to academic achievement in previous studies; and (2) because social background has been shown related to the level at which schools are supported.[9]

Four methods of obtaining estimates of students' SES were considered by the Department in 1969-70. It may be seen that each of these has limitations.

(1) The first method of obtaining SES data that was considered was that of parent interviews. This method results in the most accurate portrayal of SES because it is possible to ask parents direct questions about their status in terms of such important factors as occupation, income, and educational attainment. However, this method is prohibitively expensive because of the great number of parents that would have to be intereviewed in a program as large as the one under discussion.

(2) The second method of obtaining SES data is through student estimates. This method has been shown to be reasonably valid—particularly for groups of children—and is inexpensive. The method is limited in that some children—

particularly young children—do not know important things about their families, including income and occupation. Therefore, the method must ask for indirect estimates of background factors.

(3) The third method of obtaining SES data is through educator estimates of students' characteristics. This method is not thought to be as good as the one discussed above because educators must attempt to estimate the average background of a group of children—and they will likely lack information about many of the individual children. Additionally, different educators will likely have different perceptions of what SES is—therefore, not all estimates will be comparable.

(4) The fourth method of obtaining SES data is through the use of census-type data such as that collected every ten years by the U.S. census, that collected by welfare agencies, and so forth. These data are often thought to provide the best possible estimate of students' socioeconomic status. However, there are three serious limitations to these data: (a) they are often old (the most recent available U.S. census data for the 1969-70 assessment was ten years old); (b) they are often collected on a city or county basis—and these political units are often not coterminous with school and district boundaries; and (c) these data are often not a good estimate of the SES of public school children—particularly in areas where a great many children attend nonpublic schools.

The 1969-70 Michigan program used the second of these methods—students' estimates of their own background. However, it must be admitted that the 1969-70 measure was an imperfect one and likely did not do an entirely adequate job of describing the social and economic backgrounds of students in all schools.*

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School resource measures. There are two related problems involved in gathering measures descriptive of schools. First, it is difficult to decide what aspects of schools are important and should therefore be measured. Despite a great deal of research, no one knows with any degree of certainty what aspects of schools have an impact on how well children are able to perform.

Second, it is often difficult to measure important aspects of schools once agreement has been reached that they should be measured. For example, the 1969-70 Michigan program desired an accurate measure of per-pupil expenditure for each school in the State. However, this was impossible as most school officials compute expenditure only at the district level in Michigan. Thus a great deal of variation in per-pupil expenditure and other resource measures was masked in the 1969-70 educational assessment. A compromise must usually be worked out between what data are desired for educational assessment and what data are available.

Student/school performance measures. Once it has been decided what educational goals are to be measured, the educational evaluator has the difficult problem of fairly and accurately measuring the skills, abilities, and achievements of different groups of children. The basic skills battery used in the 1969-70 educational assessment was limited to an unknown degree by the fact that it measured the basic skills of a variety of children, many of whose language patterns were "different" than those of "middle class" children. The achievement data from this assessment must be considered limited to the extent that the achievement battery was not culture-free.

Serving Competing Interests

One of the difficulties in designing and administering large-scale educational assessment programs is that they must serve a variety of

different—and sometimes competing—interests. This largely "political" problem is treated in detail elsewhere;[10] however one example of how different groups of people perceive the proper uses of educational assessment data may illuminate the point.

In 1969—at the urging of the former Superintendent of Public Instruction—staff of the Department of Education informed local educators that local assessment results would not be publicly released. In 1970, a new Superintendent was asked by the State's Board of Education to reconsider this policy. News of this reconsideration brought a great deal of protest from local school administrators. For example, a local superintendent wrote staff of the Department as follows: "The public release of individual district test scores by the Department of Education would be highly unethical."

Public officials, however, viewed the issue somewhat differently. For example, when staff of the Department of Education informed a legislator that the State Board was "considering" a policy on the release of data, he responded in part as follows:

> In response to your communication, I cannot stress too strongly my shock and amazement at this tactic. Whether or not local school administrators wish to have this information released to legislators is no concern of mine nor should it be of the Department's. As a legislator, it is my position that I have an absolute right to the test data. Therefore, I am requesting that you forward this information to me immediately. In the event it is the position of the Department that this information should not be made available to the Legislature, I wish to assure you that my first and only goal in the 1971 legislative session will be to amend the law to mandate the Department to provide this information.
>
> I cannot stress too strongly my absolute amazement and shock at your response to my request. Secrecy and the withholding of information is a classic bureaucratic technique which has no place in a free society. I am not unmindful of the reasons the Department will attempt to put forth as to why such scores should remain secret, and I am unconvinced by them. Therefore, I expect by return mail the test results for my school districts.

It is not our intention here to take sides in the dispute over whether or not local educational assessment results should be released to the public. Rather, it is our intention to indicate that different groups hold different expectations for educational assessment programs—and that administrators of these programs must constantly keep these in mind as they go about their work.

Despite the foregoing limits, large-scale educational assessment efforts are now in existence: we have had a National Assessment of Educational Progress, several states are assessing their educational systems, and many local school districts engage in comprehensive evaluation and assessment activities.

A Summary of 1969-70 Results

This section will present a brief summary of certain important results from the 1969-70 Michigan Educational Assessment Program. Seven major conclusions—grouped according to the three objectives discussed above—are presented.

The Levels of Education

One purpose of the educational assessment program was to display data that would indicate the levels of assessment measures in the State's regions and community types. These data were analyzed in three ways: by district scores, by school scores, and by pupil scores. Three major conclusions may be drawn from these data.

First, the data indicated that districts, schools, and children in Michigan's metropolitan core cities scored extremely low on measures of basic skills achievement. For example, the four metropolitan core districts in Wayne, Oakland, and Macomb Counties had an average score on the basic skills achievement measures that placed them below the fifth percentile on a ranking of Michigan's school districts.

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Second, the data indicated wide variations in the performance of types of districts and schools within relatively small geographic areas. For example, urban fringe and city districts in Wayne, Oakland, and Macomb Counties scored above the state-wide median on achievement while—as mentioned above—metropolitan core districts scored below the fifth percentile.

Third, the data indicated that the State's rural school districts scored generally low both in achievement and in the amount of resources expended in schools.

The Distribution of Education

A second major purpose of the educational assessment program was to display data that would indicate the manner in which educational assessment measures were distributed in Michigan in terms of both achievement and socioeconomic status. That is, we were interested in knowing whether those schools and school districts that scored high (or near the state median or low) on achievement or SES also scored relatively high (or near the median or low) on the other educational assessment measures. This methodology—while not very sophisticated—does provide graphic evidence of the relationship of educational measures to both achievement and socioeconomic status. Two major—and not unexpected—conclusions were drawn from these data.

First, there was evidence of a relationship between the level of basic skills in schools and districts and most of the other assessment measures. Although we noted several exceptions, we generalized that in Michigan those districts with high achievement also had a relatively high level of socio-economic background and of school resources.

Second, there was evidence of a relationship between the level of socioeconomic status in schools and districts and most of the other assessment measures. Again, although we noted several exceptions, we did generalize

that in Michigan those districts with high socioeconomic background also had a relatively high level of school resources and of basic skills achievement.

Local District Results

During the summer of 1970 local results from the educational assessment program were mailed to each of the State's local superintendents. We were able to make two generalizations regarding these local results.

First, there was a great deal of variation among the State's school districts on the educational assessment measures. As an example, we may compare results of two districts in southeastern Michigan. The first district—one of the State's largest—had an average fourth grade "score" on reading achievement of 44.8. This means that the "average" child in that district was able to correctly answer nineteen of forty questions on the reading portion of the assessment battery. This district had a "score" of 48.3 on SES, it had an instructional expense of $543, and thirty-six percent of its teachers had masters degrees. A second—nearby—district had an average fourth grade "score" of 56.8 on the reading portion of the assessment battery. This means that the "average" child in that district was able to correctly answer twenty-nine of forty questions on the reading portion of the assessment battery. This district had a "score" of 62.6 on SES, it had an instructional expense of $690, and fifty-four percent of its teachers had masters degrees. It may be noted that these districts did not measure the range of district scores in Michigan—the difference between the high and low district would be somewhat greater than that indicated by comparison of these two nationally-recognized school districts.

Second, we found a great deal of variation among schools within districts on performance. In the large district described above, for example, an elementary school in an affluent neighborhood had an average "score" of

56.9 on reading and a "disadvantaged" school had a score of 35.7. This means the children of one school were able to correctly answer an average of thirty of forty reading questions while the children of another were only able to answer an average of twelve of forty questions. Although the range in this district is extremely large as a partial result of its large size, many other Michigan districts exhibited wide variation among their schools on basic skills achievement.

A more complete recounting of 1969-70 results is available in certain of the reports listed in the bibliography.

PART II

THE SECOND YEAR OF THE PROGRAM: 1970-71

In August, 1969, the State Superintendent of Public Instruction had introduced the initial thrust of the Michigan Educational Assessment Program by emphasizing that:

> the full implementation of a meaningful assessment program will not be achieved in the period of one year. Nor will it be achieved without the cooperation and involvement of professional educators and lay citizens. The task at hand is a complex one and will necessitate systematic planning and development over a period of many months. The activities which will be undertaken during the 1969-70 school year represent only a beginning step in a long-range program designed to provide better and more comprehensive information concerning the level, distribution, and progress of education in the schools of our State.

As was indicated in Part I, that beginning step was taken in 1969-70. In this part of my statement, I shall describe the educational assessment program as it was modified and carried out in its second year, 1970-71.

It is appropriate that, in introducing this section of the paper, three important additions be mentioned. First, it is the State Board of Education's intent to publicly release local assessment results from the 1970-71 program. This will insure that public officials and others will have access to this data—although the assessment data will be released to local superintendents prior to its general publication.

Second, it should be mentioned that 17.5 million dollars in State money was allocated to elementary schools in 1970-71 according to criteria of social deprivation and pupil performance from the 1969-70 educational assessment. That is, schools with concentrations of low-achieving and low socioeconomic status children—as determined by the 1969-70 educational assessment—were provided compensatory money to improve their instructional programs.

Finally, it should be pointed out that the 1970-71 assessment plans benefited from a great deal of involvement of local citizens and educators. Probably no major program operated by this Department has received more scrutiny and discussion than the educational assessment effort. This involvement accounted for many improvements which, we believe, resulted in an improved administration of the 1970-71 Michigan Educational Assessment Program.

Objectives of the 1970-71 Michigan Educational Assessment Program

Following the pattern set in 1969-70, the 1970-71 Michigan Educational Assessment Program gathered, analyzed, and reported three basic kinds of information descriptive of educational systems: (1) information regarding students' background characteristics; (2) information regarding school and school district educational resources; and (3) information regarding student/school performance (including data descriptive of attitudes, dropout rate, and achievement in the basic skills). Again, following the 1969-70 pattern, this information was gathered from three basic sources: (1) an anonymous pupil background and attitude questionnaire which was administered to all fourth and seventh grade public school students; (2) records held in the Department of Education; and (3) a basic skills achievement battery that was administered to all fourth and seventh grade public school students. One important modification should be noted regarding the 1970-71 basic skills achievement battery. The 1970-71 achievement battery was lengthened to ensure that it would be reliable enough so that results from it could be reported for individual students (the 1969-70 achievement battery was reliable only for group reporting).

Four basic objectives were set for the 1970-71 Michigan Educational Assessment Program. Each of these is discussed below in some detail.

Providing State Level Public Information

Again, following the pattern set in 1969-70, the first objective of the 1970-71 Michigan Educational Assessment Program was to provide members of the State Board of Education, the Executive Office, and the Legislature with information needed for allocating the State's educational resources in a manner best calculated to equalize and improve the quality of educational opportunities for all children in the State.

The very first report in the educational assessment series made the assumption that "the most important education-related problem facing the State—and indeed the nation—is the inequitable distribution of school district performance levels and their correlates."

In order to meet the first objective of the educational assessment program, answers to three basic questions were sought. The questions and methodologies that were used in answering them are presented below.

1. What is the level of basic skills achievement and of other educational assessment measures in Michigan and in Michigan's community and district types? An explanation of Michigan's community and district types was presented in Figure 2 on page 13. The first question will be answered by displaying summary data for each of Michigan's community and district types. Thus, it will be possible to understand differences on the educational measures between, say, metropolitan core cities and urban fringe areas. This information will be derived separately from district-level, school-level, and individual student data.

2. Do school districts (or schools) that score in the upper (or middle, or lower) third of a ranking of Michigan districts (or schools) on composite achievement also score relatively high (or in the middle, or relatively low) on certain other assessment measures? The first question

seeks to explore the level of educational assessment measures in Michigan and in Michigan's community and district types. It is the purpose of the second question to describe how certain measures are distributed in Michigan. The fundamental difference between the two questions is that the first seeks to determine the level of each educational assessment measure independently; the second seeks to determine the distribution of measures in terms of district (or school) scores on achievement.

The methodology for answering this question is as follows: (1) the average achievement scores of districts (or schools) in the top, middle, and bottom thirds of a distribution of Michigan districts (or schools) will be computed; (2) the average score on other assessment measures will be computed for those districts (or schools) falling into each third by achievement; and (3) the scores will be graphically portrayed in tabular form.

It is planned that similar distributions will be made in terms of district (or school) scores on socioeconomic status. This will make it possible to understand, for example, whether or not those Michigan districts that score relatively high on socioeconomic status score—on the average—relatively high on basic skills achievement.

3. What is the level of basic skills achievement and of other educational assessment measures in each of Michigan's school districts? As was noted earlier, it is planned that local district assessment results will be publicly reported in 1970-71. Most of the educational measures will be reported in three ways in this report. First, a score will be reported for each measure in "raw" form. For example, the percent of teachers with masters degrees, the average years of teaching experience, the pupil-teacher ratio, the K-12 instructional expense per pupil (in dollars), and the average score of students on reading will be reported. Second, these scores will be

reported in terms of their position on a percentile distribution of Michigan school districts. Third, scores will be reported in the form of a decile distribution indicating the percent of fourth and seventh grade pupils who scored in each decile on composite achievement.

Information to answer the above three questions will provide the State with valuable information regarding the level, distribution, and equality of educational programs and student performance in Michigan. This information will be useful as deliberations are held regarding the allocation of State resources and the design of major educational programs.

Providing Information to Local School Systems

The second objective of the 1970-71 educational assessment program was to provide citizens and educators in every school system with basic information regarding their district and its schools. This information will assist them in making local decisions regarding the allocation of resources and the design of educational programs.

As was indicated above, several studies have shown differences in educational offerings among the State's school districts. Those studies—and others—have also shown disparities in educational program offerings within school districts. For example, Sexton in her study of a large Michigan city, provided evidence of significant class-related differences in the quality of educational programs among schools.[11]

Data from large-scale educational assessment efforts are also useful in the improvement of all aspects of educational curricula. For example, assessment information can identify strengths and weaknesses in certain areas of school performance.

Local educators have been provided with assessment information and explanatory materials from the 1970-71 educational assessment. Two basic

kinds of explanatory materials were provided: (1) norm tables that may be used to display local assessment data and (2) information that explains the meaning of the assessment measures, their limits, and their uses. These materials may be used to answer two questions at the local level. These questions and tentative methodologies to answer them are presented below.

1. What is the level of basic skills achievement and of other educational assessment measures in the school district in relation to other districts? Local educators may answer this question by displaying data for their school district on norm tables that were provided together with 1970-71 educational assessment results.

2. What is the level of basic skills achievement and of other educational assessment measures in each school of the school district? Local educators may answer this question by displaying data for each school of their district. Again, norm tables were provided for this purpose together with 1970-71 educational assessment results. These data should help indicate which schools within a district have most need for additional educational resources and improved educational programs.

Providing Information to Students and Parents

The third objective of the 1970-71 program was to provide school districts with basic information regarding students that will help the students, their parents, and educators to assess their progress. Additionally, this information was used by districts to identify students who have extraordinary need for assistance to improve their competence in the basic skills.

Act 38 of the Public Acts of 1970 states that the Michigan Educational Assessment Program shall identify students "who have extraordinary need for assistance to improve their competence in the basic skills." It further states that the Department of Education "shall provide remedial assistance

programs, as funds are made available by law to school districts to raise competencies in basic skills of students identified (in the above statement)."*

Local educators will be able to answer one question regarding each student who completes the basic skills achievement battery.

1. What is the level of educational attainment in the basic skills of each child who completes the basic skills achievement battery? As was mentioned above, individual achievement results will be scored and reported in terms of the pupil's relation to other pupils who complete the battery. Most schools will have a number of students who are not able to read, write, and/or perform arithmetical operations at desired levels. It is probable that these children will not be able to fully participate in American society without an understanding of basic skills. Therefore, all local district officials must seek an answer to a most important question: What can be done to insure that every child who attends school reaches an acceptable mastery of the basic skills? The mere asking of this question will not by itself insure that all children will learn how to read, write, and compute. Nor can it be expected that the State Board of Education can answer the question for a local school district. Each local district must decide for itself how it can best allocate its educational resources and design its educational program so that all regular students are prepared for participation in American society.

Providing Information Regarding the Progress of Education

The final objective of the 1970-71 assessment effort was to provide citizens, the State Board of Education, the Executive Office, and the Legislature with information regarding the progress of the Michigan educational

*During the 1971-72 school year, $23 million will be allocated for such programs utilizing 1970-71 assessment results as the measure of need.

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system as a whole, the progress of its school districts, and the progress of its schools over a period of years.

As was stated above, a most important question facing the State—and local school districts—is the equalization and improvement of educational programs and student performance. By conducting an annual educational assessment it will be possible to measure the degree to which equalization and improvement are actually taking place.

In order to facilitate comparisons over time, parts of future educational assessment batteries will be similar to the one administered in 1969-70. Additionally, many of the measures descriptive of educational resources will be similar or identical on an annual basis.

Two basic questions will be used as a guide to the fourth objective. These questions and tentative methodologies to answer them are provided below.

1. Is the level and distribution of basic skills achievement and of other educational assessment measures improving over time among the State's school districts? This question is concerned with both the level and distribution of educational assessment measures. It will be possible to ascertain improvement in the level of basic skills performance by comparing the percent of children who are able to perform at desired levels in the basic skills over time. It will be possible to ascertain improvement in the distribution of educational assessment measures by comparing scores of high and low districts over time. That is, it will be possible, for example, to ascertain whether or not low achieving districts are improving their position relative to other districts over time.

2. Is the level and distribution of basic skills achievement and of other educational assessment measures improving over time within the State's school districts? The above question is concerned with the state-wide level

and distribution of educational assessment measures. This question is also concerned with the quality and equity of educational opportunities—but at the local level. Hence each district will be able to tell how much its educational program is improving over time by comparing the assessment results from its schools on an annual basis.

A Final Word on the 1970-71 Educational Assessment Program

During the late summer and autumn of 1970, a number of meetings regarding educational assessment were held with interested and knowledgeable persons. A primary purpose of these meetings was to improve the Michigan Educational Assessment Program. For example, seven regional educational assessment meetings were conducted during the summer—in part to obtain reaction to the 1969-70 educational assessment effort and in part to gather suggestions for improving the 1970-71 effort. These meetings were hosted by intermediate school district superintendents in Flint, Grandville, Marquette, Mason, Pontiac, Portage, and Traverse City and were attended by an estimated one-thousand people.

Four invitational meetings were held in the autumn for the specific purpose of considering improvements in the 1970-71 program: an all-day meeting of nationally-recognized experts in measurement and evaluation; two half-day meetings with selected staff of the Department of Education; and a half-day meeting with approximately twenty Michigan educators.

Additionally, five panels of educators were convened to consider various aspects of the 1970-71 educational assessment battery. Separate panels reviewed the reading, mechanics of written English, mathematics, and socioeconomic background portions of the battery. A final panel reviewed a second draft of the entire achievement battery.

It should also be mentioned that staff of the Department's Research, Evaluation, and Assessment Services have visited numerous local school systems and have been invited to speak to a number of groups and organizations regarding educational assessment in Michigan. Groups that requested speakers included associations of school board members, principals, teachers, and directors of curriculum.

Finally, staff discussed the educational assessment program with members of the State Board of Education, interested legislators, and representatives of the Governor's office on several occasions.

As a result of these meetings, a number of changes were made in the Michigan Educational Assessment Program. There were three major changes in the 1970-71 version of the educational assessment effort. First, the 1970-71 objectives were spelled out in greater detail than they were in the prior year. The objectives of the 1969-70 program were similar to those proposed for the 1970-71 year; however, over the ensuing twelve months, the program's objectives were much more clearly spelled out as the program received considerable discussion from citizens and educators.

Second, the basic skills portion of the 1970-71 educational assessment battery was sufficiently reliable to allow reporting of individual children's scores at grades four and seven. This means that it was possible to report to the local school district the results for each child who completed the battery. (Note that the student background portion of the battery was given separately—and anonymously. Students were not identified on this portion of the battery.)

Third, the program was expanded in 1970-71 to include a number of additional measures. Several new school resource measures were included. Additionally, several new student/school performance measures, as shown in

Figure 3, were used including attitude measures and a district measure of dropout rate. The latter measure was compiled from the Department's annual dropout study.

We are currently in the process of analyzing and reporting the data from the 1970-71 program. As of this date, two reports, with accompanying data, have been published: (1) Individual Pupil Report: Explanatory Materials; and (2) Local School and District Report: Explanatory Materials. The remaining reports in the 1970-71 series are either in press or currently being drafted. These reports include: (1) Public Report of Local District Results; (2) Levels of Educational Performance and Related Factors in Michigan; (3) Distribution of Educational Performance and Related Factors in Michigan; (4) Educational Assessment: A Comparison of the First Two Years Results; (5) Educational Assessment: Results by District Size; and (6) Educational Assessment: Technical Report, 1970-71.

FIGURE 3

A LIST OF THE TWENTY-FIVE MEASURES[1] REPORTED AT THE DISTRICT OR SCHOOL LEVELS

MEASURES	DISTRICT	SCHOOL
I. School Resources		
A. Human Resources		
(1) Pupil-Professional Instructional Staff Ratio*	X	X
(2) Pupil-Teacher Ratio	X	X
(3) Percent of Teachers with Five or More Years Experience*	X	X
(4) Average Years Teaching Experience	X	
(5) Percent of Teachers with Masters Degree	X	X
(6) Percent of Teachers Earning $11,000 or More*	X	X
(7) Average Salary of Teachers (1969-70)	X	
B. Financial Resources		
(8) State Equalized Valuation per Resident Pupil (1969-70)	X	
(9) Local Revenue per Pupil (1969-70)	X	
(10) State School Aid per Pupil (1969-70)	X	
(11) K-12 Instructional Expense per Pupil (1969-70)	X	
(12) Total Current Operating Expense per Pupil (1969-70)	X	
II. Student Background		
(13) Percent of Racial-Ethnic Minority Students*	X	X
(14) Students' Estimate of Socioeconomic Status	X	X
III. School/Student Performance		
A. Attitude Measures		
(15) Importance of School Achievement	X	X
(16) Self-Perception	X	X
(17) Attitude Toward School	X	X
B. Basic Skills Measures		
(18) Vocabulary	X	X
(19) Reading	X	X
(20) Mechanics of Written English	X	X
(21) Mathematics	X	X
(22) Basic Skills Composite Achievement	X	X
C. Dropout Rate		
(23) School Dropout Rate*	X	
IV. School or District Size		
(24) Number of Students in School*		X
(25) District State Aid Membership	X	

[1] The method of computation and sources of information for each measure are contained in Local School and District Report: Explanatory Materials.

* These measures are newly added since the 1969-70 educational assessment program.

PART III

THE THIRD YEAR OF THE PROGRAM: 1971-72

In discussing our plans for the 1971-72 Michigan Educational Assessment Program, it is appropriate to digress for a moment and describe a larger effort now being undertaken by the State Board of Education and the Department—and in which the educational assessment program plays a key role. In response to the changing demands being placed upon education, we are currently undertaking the development and implementation of a major new thrust for the Department in the delivery of educational services. This new thrust is designed around a process or a model having six basic elements or steps, and is aimed at achieving genuine educational reform and, thereby, improved education for all children, youth, and adults in Michigan. Very briefly, the six basic elements or steps in the process are:

(1) The Identification of Common Goals

(2) The Development of Performance Objectives

(3) The Assessment of Needs

(4) The Analysis of Delivery Systems

(5) Evaluation of Programs

(6) Recommendations for Improvement

We view this six-step process as being applicable to the entire State educational system. We believe it can serve as a guide for the overall activities of the Department, for the activities of each of the major service areas within the Department, for the activities of intermediate districts, for the activities of local school districts, for activities within a school building, and—for that matter—for activities planned around the individual child.

While the elements are not in themselves novel and generally make up the problem-solving activities in which teachers, administrators, and educators engage, the commitment of a state's entire educational system to such a program of coordinated improvement is new. However, we well realize that the assumption of responsibility by individuals at all levels of the educational system—state, intermediate, and local—must accompany this commitment if the program is to be carried forward.

Also new is the understanding that this program will continue to guide the efforts of Michigan education in the years ahead. It is not a program which has a beginning and an end. Rather, it provides direction for the continuing improvement of the educational system. It is a method for organizing the state's educational resources in an ongoing effort and beginning, in fact, to manage the educational enterprise rather than have it manage us.

A large part of the stimulus for change in Michigan—as in many other states—has been the ever increasing call for accountability in education. And central to our new thrust in Michigan is the concept of accountability, which our State Superintendent has defined as:

> . . . the guarantee that all students without respect to race, income, or social class will acquire the minimum school skills necessary to take full advantage of the choices that accrue upon successful completion of public schooling, or we in education will describe the reasons why.[12]

Such a definition requires that we first have an answer to the question, "What is it that the schools should do? What is it that schools should be held accountable for?" The first two elements or steps in the model—the identification of common goals and the development of performance objectives—are designed to provide answers to this basic question. The third element in the model which calls for an assessment of needs, addresses itself to

the question, "Where are we in relation to our goals and objectives? What are our unmet needs?" The fourth step calls for an analysis of existing delivery systems or programs. The fifth step—closely linked with step four—requires the evaluation and testing of existing programs, or newly developed programs, to determine if they are successful in achieving their stated objectives. The sixth step follows logically—namely, what suggestions and sound recommendations can be made for improving our delivery systems or programs so that needs are better met and the system progresses toward the attainment of its goals.

Objectives of the 1971-72 Michigan Educational Assessment Program

The immediate goal of the Michigan Educational Assessment Program is to provide educational decision-makers throughout Michigan with basic information regarding the State's educational system. As was discussed in Part II, four objectives were drawn from this goal and guided by the Michigan Educational Assessment Program in 1970-71.

Since the State Board's adoption in 1971 of the six-point program for educational improvement, the role of the Michigan Educational Assessment Program has been further clarified and the four objectives further defined. As in 1970-71, the 1971-72 objectives identify the individuals and groups for whom assessment information is provided and the uses for which the information is intended. The further definition has occurred in describing the uses in terms of the role of assessment in the activities of the State Board's six-point program. In general, assessment information is intended for use in the third element, needs assessment, and the fourth element, delivery system analysis. Since the Board's program is appropriate to and applicable at all levels of educational governance and instruction and since

the information requirements vary at the different decision-making levels, assessment information must be readily usable by individuals and groups at these levels.

In order to further the activities of the third and fourth elements of the State Board's six-point program, the 1971-72 Michigan Educational Assessment Program will again gather and report three basic kinds of information which describe Michigan's educational system: (1) school and school district characteristics (including student population and background characteristics); (2) educational resources (including data descriptive of finances, instructional staff, educational programs, and educational practices; and (3) student and school performance (including data descriptive of attitudes, dropout rate, and achievement in basic skills).

It is again planned that this information will be gathered from three sources: (1) an anonymous pupil background and attitude questionnaire which will be administered to all fourth and seventh grade public school students; (2) records held in the Department of Education; and (3) a basic skills achievement battery that will be administered to all fourth and seventh grade public school students. Figure 4 displays a tentative list of the measures to be reported in the 1971-72 program.

Providing State Level Public Information

The first objective of the 1971-72 Michigan Educational Assessment Program will be to provide the State Board of Education, the Executive Office, the Legislature, and citizens with information which contributes to an understanding of the educational needs of Michigan's school children and the analysis of the educational system's responses to these needs.

In recent years, it has become increasingly evident to both professional educators and the general citizenry that reliable information concerning

FIGURE 4

A TENTATIVE LIST OF THE TWENTY-FOUR MEASURES TO BE REPORTED AT THE DISTRICT OR SCHOOL LEVELS

MEASURES	DISTRICT	SCHOOL
I. School Resources		
A. Human Resources		
(1) Pupil-Professional Instructional Staff Ratio	X	X
(2) Pupil-Teacher Ratio	X	X
(3) Average Years Teaching Experience	X	
(4) Percent of Teachers with Master's Degree	X	X
(5) Average Contracted Salary of Teachers	X	
B. Financial Resources		
(6) State Equalized Valuation per Resident Pupil (1970-71)	X	
(7) Local Revenue per Pupil (1970-71)	X	
(8) State School Aid per Pupil (1970-71)	X	
(9) K-12 Instructional Expense per Pupil (1970-71)	X	
(10) Total Current Operating Expense per Pupil (1970-71)	X	
(11) Elementary Instructionsl Expense per Pupil (1970-71)*	X	
II. Student Background		
(12) Percent of Racial-Ethnic Minority Students	X	X
(13) Students' Estimate of Socioeconomic Status	X	X
III. School/Student Performance		
A. Attitude Measures		
(14) Importance of School Achievement	X	X
(15) Self-Perception	X	X
(16) Attitude Toward School	X	X
B. Basic Skills Measures		
(17) Vocabulary and Relationships	X	X
(18) Reading	X	X
(19) Mechanics of Written English	X	X
(20) Mathematics	X	X
(21) Composite Achievement	X	X
C. Dropout Rate		
(22) School Dropout Rate (1970-71)	X	
IV. School or District Size		
(23) Number of Students in School		X
(24) District State Aid Membership	X	

*These measures are newly added since the 1970-71 educational assessment program.

progress in education is scarce. As the costs of education climb and property taxes become more burdensome, the demand for performance indicators in the field of education increases. Ralph Tyler writes:

> In making wise decisions, dependable information about the progress of education is essential; without it we scatter our efforts too widely and fail to achieve our goals. Although we recognize the need, we have not yet met it. We do not now have the comprehensive and dependable data required. We have reports on numbers of schools, buildings, teachers, and pupils; we have data on the monies expended; but we lack sound and adequate information on educational results. Because dependable data are not available, the public relies on personal view, distorted reports, and journalistic impressions in forming its opinion, and the schools are both frequently attacked and frequently defended on the basis of inadequate evidence. Only a careful, consistent effort to obtain valid data about the progress of American education will correct this situation.[13]

In order to meet the first objective of the educational assessment program, answers to two specific questions will be sought. These questions and the tentative methodologies that will be used in answering them are presented below.

1. What are the levels of basic skills achievement and of other educational assessment measures in Michigan, in Michigan's community type and district sizes, and in each of Michigan's school districts? Educational assessment will provide information from which answers to this question may be drawn for the State and the State's community type and district sizes in the form of tables displaying summaries of the data. By using these tables, it will be possible to compare the levels on the same measures of districts in different types of communities and of districts with different sizes of student population.

Information descriptive of individual districts for each of the assessment measures will be presented in tables which list districts alphabetically by community type served. The measures will be reported in two or three ways.

First, a score will be reported for each measure. For example, the percent of teachers with master's degrees, the average years of teaching experience, the pupil-teacher ratio, the K-12 instructional expense per pupil (in dollars), and the average score of students on reading will be reported. Second, these scores will be reported in terms of their position on a percentile distribution of Michigan school districts. Third, the percent of fourth and seventh grade students who scored in each decile on composite achievement will be reported for each district.

2. Do associations exist among the educational assessment measures? Information to answer this question will be provided in tables which display correlation coefficients computed for each pair of educational assessment measures.

Information contained in these tables will enable a further understanding to be had of the associations among such measures on percent of teachers with master's degrees and basic skills composite achievement. Although this information cannot support hypotheses of cause and effect among the measures, it will point out areas that merit further and more intensive examination. This will be helpful in the analysis of the State's educational delivery system since this activity will identify, among other things, relationships among specific kinds of resource allocations and the equality of educational opportunities for the State's school children.

Providing Information to Local School Systems

The second objective of the 1971-72 educational assessment program will be to provide citizens and educators in every school system with information regarding their district and its schools. This information will contribute to an understanding of the educational needs of their district's school children and the analysis of their district's responses to these needs.

As was indicated earlier, several studies have shown differences in educational offerings among the State's school districts. Those studies—and others—have also shown disparities in educational program offerings within school districts.

Data from large-scale educational assessment efforts are also useful in the improvement of all aspects of educational curricula. For example, assessment information can identify strengths and weaknesses in certain areas of school performance.

It is planned that local educators will be provided with assessment information and explanatory materials from the 1971-72 educational assessment. Two basic kinds of explanatory materials will be provided: (1) norm tables that may be used to display local assessment data; and (2) information that explains the meaning of the assessment measures, their limits, and their uses.

The educational assessment materials may be used to answer two questions at the local level. These questions and tentative methodologies to answer them are presented below.

1. What are the levels of basic skills achievement and of other educational assessment measures in the school district in relation to other districts? Local educators may answer this question by displaying data for their school district on norm tables that will be included with the 1971-72 educational assessment results.

2. What are the levels of basic skills achievement and of other educational assessment measures in each school of the school district? Local educators may answer this question by displaying data for each school of their district. Again, norm tables will be provided for this purpose together with 1971-72 educational assessment results. These data should

indicate which schools within a district have need of additional educational resources and improved educational programs.

Two points made previously are especially relevant here. First, it is the responsibility of local officials to apply the State Board of Education's six-element program to their district. Second, the findings of the Michigan Educational Assessment Program should be used as guides for local officials as they investigate in detail the responsiveness of their district to its students' needs in terms of agreed upon performance criteria. The information provided to answer this question should highlight those areas requiring special attention in local efforts to apply the Board's program.

Providing Information to Students and Parents

The third objective of the 1971-72 program will be to provide school districts with basic information regarding students that will help the students, their parents, and educators to assess their progress. Additionally, this information will be used by districts to identify students who have extraordinary need for assistance to improve their competence consistent with the agreed upon performance objectives.

Information regarding the educational needs of individual children can assist professional educators to design individually appropriate learning experiences for children and youth. Such information is particularly useful in identifying students who have unusual need for assistance to improve their performance in essential skill areas. Most schools have a number of students who are not able to read, write, and/or deal with mathematical concepts at desired levels. It is probable that these children will not be able to participate fully in American society without ability in the basic skills. Following the State Board's six-point program, all local district officials have the responsibility of seeking an answer to a most important

question: What can be done to ensure that every child who attends school develops competence in the basic skills?

The data on individual levels of competence reported by the Michigan Educational Assessment Program will identify students whose needs are not presently being met. It is then up to local officials to investigate the specific needs of these students and the responsiveness of the district's programs to these needs.

Local educators will be able to answer one question regarding each student who completes the achievement battery.

1. What are the levels of educational attainment of each child who completes the achievement battery? Individual achievement results will be reported in terms of: (1) the pupil's scores on the different sections of the battery, and (2) the pupil's relation to other pupils who complete the battery.

Providing Information Regarding the Progress of Education

The final objectives of the 1971-72 assessment effort will be to provide citizens of Michigan with information regarding the progress of the Michigan educational system as a whole, and the progress of its school districts and schools over a period of years.

As was stated several times previously, a most important question facing the State—and local school districts—is the equalization and improvement of educational programs and student performance. By conducting an annual educational assessment it will be possible to measure the degree to which equalization and improvement are actually taking place.

In order to facilitate comparisons over time, parts of future educational assessment batteries will be similar to those administered in 1969-70 and 1970-71. Additionally, many of the measures descriptive of educational resources will be similar or identical on an annual basis.

Two questions will be used as a guide to the fourth objective. These questions and tentative methodologies to answer them are provided below.

1. Are the levels of achievement and of other educational assessment measures improving over time among the State's school districts? This question is concerned with the level of educational assessment measures. It will be possible to ascertain improvement in the level of performance by comparing the percent of children who perform at particular levels in the basic skills over time.

2. Are the levels of achievement and of other educational assessment measures improving over time within the State's school districts? The above question is concerned with the state-wide level of educational assessment measures. This question is also concerned with the quality and equity of educational opportunities—but at the local level. Hence each district will be able to tell how much its educational program is improving over time by comparing the assessment results from its schools on an annual basis.

A Final Observation

As was mentioned earlier, assessment programs ideally can serve two basic purposes: (1) they can provide information to help in making decisions regarding the allocation or distribution of educational resources; and (2) they hopefully might provide additional information to help in making decisions regarding the structuring or setting-up of major educational programs.

One of the major problems facing American public education is the way in which resources are distributed among school districts—and for that matter—among schools within districts. On the national level, the latest figures from the National Education Association indicate that some states spend, on the average, in excess of $1,200 per pupil while others spend as

little as $400 per pupil. The situation in Michigan is not much different. As noted previously, several recent surveys have documented the maldistribution of educational opportunity in Michigan. An educational assessment program can provide data that highlights this problem. A State assessment program can indicate the relative levels of performance and of factors related to performance in different community types and geographic areas—for example, between the inner-city and the suburb. It also can show differences between classes of schools—for example, schools in relatively affluent neighborhoods as compared to schools in poor neighborhoods—or differences between schools whose children perform well or poorly. This type of data highlights the problem and, presumably, puts the problem into the political arena where it can be dealt with—and, as you are so very well aware, the very essence of politics is how resources are distributed—no matter how we define resources. And, if an assessment is conducted on a periodic basis, it can show progress toward—or away from—a more equitable distribution of education.

A second major problem we all face—and I think this is the problem with which educators are most concerned—is how to construct the best program or curriculum for children. We need two kinds of information to get at this problem. First, we need to know what sorts of things children know—and don't know—so we can decide what areas to address. Secondly, we need to know what sorts of things are related to student performance in schools so that we may appropriately modify programs, curricula, and environments. Information for the first purpose can be provided at State, district, school, and even individual pupil levels. That is, we can provide information about the kinds of skills and knowledges the children of the State have; the children of a district have; or the children of a

school have. We also can indicate what general sorts of things an individual child knows or doesn't know. This information in conjunction with the information a district or school already has can be useful in setting major program or curricular goals. Now, if we also knew what sorts of things are related to student performance—be they school variables or student background variables—we would have a start on knowing how to modify the schools and their environment to meet curricular objectives.

But this last statement, I well realize, is—at this point in our history—not much more than an optimistic expression of where we in education would like to be. As countless studies have shown, it is very difficult to distinguish between the influence of the student's social background and the influence of the school. This makes it difficult, if not impossible, to tell in any specific way how much of a change can be produced in certain school outcomes by systematically altering school characteristics such as the amount and kind of training received by teachers.

I have, in my statement, attempted to give you a broad brush-stroke picture of our current educational assessment effort in Michigan—including some of the problems and also some of the promises inherent in a large-scale assessment effort. I know I have not done justice to the topic. There is much more that could be said, as well as much that could be written about our efforts in this area.

To paraphrase George Mayeske, we are embarking upon a long voyage into an only partially explored ocean. The completion of that voyage will not automatically alleviate the educational problems facing the State; it will, however, provide further information to those concerned with those problems. Used creatively, we feel that that information can result in improved education for Michigan children.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Educational Testing Service, A Plan for Evaluating the Quality of Educational Programs in Pennsylvania: Highlights (Princeton, N.J.: Educational Testing Service, June 30, 1965) p. 16.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Ibid.

[4]National Education Association, National Assessment of Educational Progress: Some Questions and Comments (Washington, D.C.: NEA, Department of Elementary School Principals, 1969) p. 25.

[5]Alan Thomas, School Finance and Educational Opportunity in Michigan (Lansing, Michigan: Michigan Department of Education, 1968) p. 323.

[6]James W. Guthrie, et. al., Schools and Inequality: A Study of Social Status, School Services, Student Performance, and Post-School Opportunity in Michigan (No publication place: The Urban Coalition, 1969) p. 91.

[7]Ranking of Michigan Public High School Districts by Selected Financial Data, 1968-69 (Lansing, Michigan: Michigan Department of Education, 1969).

[8]Some may ask, "Don't we already have available results from achievement testing programs administered by local school districts? And cannot these data be combined or aggregated for purposes of state-wide assessment?" Yes, there are achievement test data available in most local districts. However, these data cannot be meaningfully combined or aggregated on a state-wide basis for at least two basic reasons. First, there is no uniformity among individual district testing programs in terms of the grade levels tested. Some districts administer achievement tests at grades 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, and 12. Others administer the tests only at grades 3, 5, and 8. Still others administer the batteries only at grades 4, 5, and 6. Second, there is no uniformity among districts in the particular achievement batteries they utilize. One district may utilize the SRA achievement battery, while another may employ a battery developed by the California Test Bureau, while still another employs the Iowa Basic Skills battery. The point is that scores from similar, but different, tests cannot be meaningfully added together. California, in its initial state-wide testing program, allowed freedom of selection from among several approved tests to be administered by each school district and an attempt was then made to accumulate results across districts. The attempt was given up after three years. To provide information useful on a state-wide basis, common measurement tools must be used.

[9]See, Objectives and Procedures of the Michigan Educational Assessment Program 1970-71 (Lansing, Michigan: Michigan Department of Education, Assessment Report No. 7, 1970) pp. 18-22.

[10]See, C. Philip Kearney, "The Politics of Educational Assessment in Michigan," Planning & Changing, Vol. I, No. 2, July, 1970; and _____, "The Michigan Assessment of Education, 1969-70: The Politics of Reporting Results." (Presented at the 1971 convention of the American Educational Research Association in New York, N.Y.)

[11]Patricia Cayo Sexton, Education and Income: Inequalities in Our Public Schools (New York: Viking Press, 1964).

[12]John W. Porter, "The Future of Accountability," in Proceedings of the Conference on Educational Accountability (Princeton: Educational Testing Service, 1971) p. J-1.

[13]Ralph W. Tyler, "Assessing the Progress of Education," paper presented at the symposium on Measurement of Quality in Education at the 132nd annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, Berkeley, California, December 29, 1965.

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"A Critical Assessment of Michigan's School Assessment Program." (A March, 1971 Paper prepared at Oakland Schools.)

1969-70 Norm Tables: Norms listed are available for Grade 4 and Grade 7 unless otherwise indicated.

Pupil Score Norms: State, 4 regions, 5 community types, 16 combinations (Region x C.T. cells)

School Mean Norms: State, 4 regions, 5 community types, 14 combinations (Region x C.T. cells) plus Region I, Cities and Region I, Rural grade 4 only.

District Mean Norms: State, 4 regions, 5 community types.

1970-71 Norm Tables: Norms listed are available for Grade 4 and Grade 7

Pupil Score Norms: State, 5 community types.

School Mean Norms: State, 5 community types.

District Mean Norms: State, 5 community types.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you very much for a most useful contribution, and we look forward to seeing the product of your work.

Dr. KEARNEY. Thank you.

Senator MONDALE. Our next witness this morning is Dr. Lawrence F. Read, superintendent of Jackson City public schools in Jackson, Mich.

We are very pleased to have you with us this morning.

STATEMENT OF DR. LAWRENCE F. READ, SUPERINTENDENT, JACKSON CITY PUBLIC SCHOOLS, JACKSON, MICH.

Dr. READ. I am glad to be here. I have enjoyed this past testimony and I think that the comments that were made on the effort that the State is trying to do—I have never questioned the integrity of Mr. Kearney and his group because they are good, substantial educators and I think they are trying to do what they think is best. However, I have a profound disagreement with their approach and I think there are some basic dangers inherent in any kind of standardized testing. I suppose you might use the analogy of drugs. I know that drugs in some instances are good for the alleviation of individual illnesses, but uncontrolled they present a real danger to our society and I suspect that testing, in the respect that the State education department of Michigan is using it, poses a very real danger to education.

I have prepared a written statement which I will summarize very briefly.

Senator MONDALE. We will put your full statement in the record* as though read and you can read it or you can summarize it.

Dr. READ. Let me just summarize it very briefly and try to relate this to what Dr. Kearney has said.

First of all, I think that many of the people in the State Education Department start out with the assumption that what they are doing is new and revolutionary and constitutes a great hope for the improvement of education, and I have to point out that the attempt to find answers about quality education and so on through the use of standardized normative testing is not anything new. It is not anything revolutionary. I characterize it as a rather reactionary, unprofessional attempt of getting at this problem of improving the quality of education.

The first standardized tests in the United States were given in the Detroit public schools in 1911 by Professor Cortis of the University of Michigan, and this created such a splash back at that time that for about 30 years educators all over the country were striving to get data where they could measure the quality of education, the competence of school people, and the general level of districts on a comparative basis; and these efforts reached their zenith in the 1930's when at that time there were 26 State and regional testing programs in operation in the country.

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*See prepared statement, p. 9564.

Let me point out that I think that the State confuses assessment in the way it is used—for instance, Dr. Kearney spoke at great lengths that we are not using this for evaluative purposes and then he proceeded to tell how they were going to use this data to improve the quality of education and so on. No matter how you define assessment, it is placing a value or trying to make a judgment as to the quality of a program in a school system or a program an individual teacher presents.

Standardized Testing

The only really significant component of the State assessment program is standardized testing. If I understand the meaning of the word "assessment," it is to place a value on something. When you assess a piece of property for taxation, you are placing a value on that property. So, in using tests, the State literally is trying to evaluate and make judgments, and any protest to the contrary still makes this true, because the data is published; the funds are being dispensed on this basis; the State is trying to find out what constitutes good education and bad education.

I was interested in Senator Hart's question to Dr. Kearney to the effect of do you know what this is, and he was rather pushed to answer what it is, and I do not think anybody can give that answer. Any standard that you try to apply as a common measurement as to what is good and what is bad becomes ridiculously high or ridiculously low for the population that you are measuring, depending upon the number of factors, so I think this is a reactionary approach.

In 1934, Harl Douglass, who was dean of the School of Education at the University of Colorado for many years, did an extensive study* of the effect of uniform testing, on what happened in the educational institutions that were being tested. I point this out in the body of my statement. He found when you went to a uniform system of testing, that it artificially determined educational objectives and tended to freeze the curriculum, and I can already see results of this in the State of Michigan; people pulling back from new, creative programs in an attempt to meet this ubiquitous search for quality education because they are fearful of how the students are going to show up on the tests, and this is going to reflect their ability, tending to dwarf the teacher, reducing him to the status of a tutor for examinations. It motivated regimentation and mechanization of the educational process and this is just what we do not want in education today. This is why we have turned so many students "off."

It emphasized memorization as the major factor in the learning process and perhaps the only factor, and it is my contention that the most important components of the learning process are not measurable—motivation, feeling, attitude, and basically, the rapport that exists between the teacher and the student. If the tests test anything, it may be the talent to recall, and I am not even sure of that, because you are recalling what somebody else thinks you ought to recall; but if there is anything that is being measured, this is what it is.

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*"The Effects of State and National Testing in Secondary Schools," *School Review*, 1934.

It prevented adaptation of instruction to the needs of local school systems. It stimulated standardization and an undesirable uniformity. It emphasized only those educational outcomes that could be measured by objective tests and it created a serious barrier to growth, evolution and improvement of education; and I think most importantly, it produced no evidence that greater educational efficiency resulted from its operation.

1930 STUDIES REJECTED TESTING

So, this is not a new idea and as a result of the studies of Douglass and others back in the 1930's the concept of trying to find out answers to the quality of education through testing were generally rejected by educators; and I contend that even at this particular point in time there is no professional organization that I know of that would support the present approach that is being used by the Michigan assessment program.

On page 7 of my report, I point out 10 or 11 things that we know about the value of these tests. There is no such thing as the validity of a test. Essentially, any test is an authoritarian instrument based on what somebody thinks the child ought to know and how this can be measured; and quite frankly, I do not think there is anyone smart enough to develop the kind of tests that will get at this kind of information. Even in the cognitive domain I do not think this is possible. I was invited to come up and help write these tests, and I refused on the grounds that I am just not that bright. I cannot write a test that will relate to the program that is being offered in the inner-city of Detroit with the program on Beaver Island or McBain or any of these other various communities in Michigan. I just do not have that capability.

There is no standardized test that we know of that can be used to judge the level of efficiency of any community or state or nation. They just do not exist and none of them were ever designed for this purpose. These tests may show individual differences among students, but cannot be used to assess the extent to which the students learned what the school attempted to teach.

I think that one of the most devastating effects of testing is that it tends to label, and we know from research, that tests are terribly poor predictors of ability of minority group students. There is no relationship, and quite frankly, if I were a black parent and I had children in the schools, I would forbid them to take any of the tests, because, unfortunately, the establishment begins to label and attempts to gear programs and attempts to create within the whole established order a whole group of second-class citizens, because the conclusion is these children just do not have potential and we had better set up a lot of vocational or special courses for them, which almost demoralizes any aspirations that such children have for their education.

TESTING—TOOL OF BEHAVIORISM

Basically, I oppose testing on a deep philosophical premise. I think that testing is a key tool of the person who supports the psychology of behaviorism in the schools. If any of you have had the opportunity of reviewing B. F. Skinner's new book, Beyond Freedom and Dignity, he says quite bluntly we just cannot afford freedom. He starts with the premise that man is essentially not free. What we need to do is scientifically control the environment of young people. He even put his daughter in a box for the first 2 years of her life. I think this is an extremely dangerous kind of philosophy.

I happen to be a humanist. I happen to think that the only purpose that education serves is to help each person first to know himself and, second, to respect himself, and then, to become himself, whatever that may be.

John Holt, who I think expresses better than anyone else the humanistic philosophy, said this very well, about testing. He said the only reason that we really test is to relieve our own anxieties. He says there is no reason except to relieve our own anxieties and insecurity that we should constantly know what children are learning. What true education requires of us is faith and courage; faith that children want to make sense out of life and will work hard at it, and courage to let them do it without continually poking, prodding, and meddling.

Now, as a teacher, I gave up on testing a long time ago because I realized I was using this as a powerful conditioning kind of thing. One time in my own experience, instead of developing a test for my students, I asked them to write what they had learned and they could not stop writing because the learning process goes on all the time and it is influenced by many factors, not just the teacher.

9564

AN ASSESSMENT OF MICHIGAN ASSESSMENT

Prepared for The Select Committee
on
Equal Educational Opportunities at the
United States Senate

by

Lawrence F. Read
Superintendent
Jackson Public Schools
October 13, 1971

INTRODUCTION

"A comprehensive and continuing testing program is
a powerful educational instrument"

Walter Cook, Former Dean,
College of Education
University of Minnesota

The Michigan State Assessment program is reactionary, unprofessional, undemocratic, and if permitted to continue on its present course will cause irreparable damage to public education in this state. Strong words, perhaps, but a point of view that will be well substantiated in the body of this report.

The word assessment means evaluation and appraisal and no rational person will deny the need to evaluate and appraise the progress of education. The truly professional educator has always been and will always be anxious and eager to assess educational progress.

It is exceedingly unfortunate, therefore, that the Michigan State Education Department confuses assessment and appraisal with comparative testing. Despite protests to the contrary, the fact remains that the only significant component of the current Michigan Assessment Program is standardized testing.

To avoid confusion about terms, this report will deal primarily with the comparative academic testing aspects of the Michigan State Assessment Program because this, in effect, is the program. The other components may have some minor academic significance but, for state officials, comparative academic testing is really synonymous with assessment.

In this report, it will be clearly established that the use of normative and comparative test data to determine what children have learned and how we can help them learn more is not the real intent of the Michigan Assessment Program. Comparative testing in the hands of any authority, no matter how benign it may be, will ultimately be used to coerce. The threat of a test makes the student do his assignment; the

results of the test enable the authority to reward those who do his bidding and punish those who will not conform.

(Tests arouse fear and satisfy greed) Left unchallenged in this area, there is a strong possibility that the state will use this powerful instrument of testing to impose stringent, rigid, and unprofessional restraints on students, classroom teachers and local school districts. If the state assumes that testing can be used as a valid assessment instrument, then its returns will have to be used to force change.

Perhaps this is necessary and it may be unavoidable. Before it comes to pass, however, the issues should be thoroughly defined, discussed and analyzed.

This report has that purpose.

PART I

THE PHILOSOPHIC IMPLICATIONS
OF
STANDARDIZED TESTING

"I suspect that if we can deliver the basic skills, we will find that the attitudes, the self esteem, the self concept and all of these peripheral areas will fall into place. When you teach a black kid, or Spanish speaking kid or a poor white how to read and write, you are in effect teaching that kid a self concept that is positive and I don't buy the argument that you have to spend a lot of time humanizing him."

John Porter, Michigan State
Superintendent of Public Instruction

During very recent years the philosophy or psychology of behaviorism has had an amazing revival. Relying largely on the writings of B. F. Skinner, John Watson and others it is the contention of those who support this philosophy that education is simply one big Pavlovian process of conditioning.

The bahaviorist starts with the assumption that the individual is essentially not free and as a consequence his learning must be highly directed by those who are wise enough to know what he must learn and how he must learn it. Usually, children are conceived in terms of pieces of clay that must be shaped and molded by the omniscient authority.

There is little place for emotions, feelings, attitudes, individuality or self image in the bahaviorist's plans for education. To him, these are peripheral, vague, and cannot be measured. Learning is largely directed to the basic academic skills of reading, writing and number usage which are deemed sufficient for a constructive and competitive role in the economy and society as a whole. The bahaviorist is deeply concerned with developing a system of education that will produce an individual who can become an efficient and well disciplined laborer in a technocratic and competitive world; hence, there is frequent reference to making the school a microcosm of the society it serves.

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This philosophy demands an educational system that resorts to external and competitive devices such as marks, honor societies, certificates, plaques, and most important continuous and constant testing to keep the learner and the teacher in line. The behaviorist, of course, cannot conceive of learning as its own reward. He is anxiety prone and does not believe that teachers and learners, if left to their own devices, can possibly succeed. Because he cannot trust, he must make constant use of reward and punishment conditioning. Success in terms of conforming to the authority's value system is rewarded and creativity expressed through nonconformity is punished through the use of the aforementioned devices.

In summary the behaviorist only views educational output in terms of acquisition of certain basic skills that are highly valued by the society. These skills are taught through a conditioning process that uses external competitive devices based on a reward and punishment psychology. Essential to this process is a system of testing that motivates better conditioning, limits the scope of the conditioning and gives the authority information on how well or how poorly the conditioning is operating.

All of this can be highly appealing to the inexperienced or unsophisticated observer of the educational scene. It is a simple, precise and easily understood process which manifests many of the common homilies and prejudices of the prior conditioning of most adults. Unfortunately, since adults have been programmed in this way, if by chance they have been successful, they can hardly be expected to fault it.

Erasmus, whom many historians regard as the first modern man, was an early nonconformist who suggested that education was more than rote learning. In 1497, he wrote:

> "I have no patience with the teacher who spends his time making students learn the rules of grammar while neglecting the beauty, power, and scope of language."

Since Erasmus, there have been numerous philosophers who have expressed in their own special way, the basic concept of humanism. In contrast to the behaviorist, the

humanist is deeply concerned about individual man - his freedom, and his destiny. He does not believe that education exists merely to perpetrate an existing social order but, instead, sees education as a vehicle for improving man and his capacity to live and work together. The humanist, in education, is willing to deal with facts and knowledge organized into systematic subject areas, not for their own sake, but only as they interrelate and contribute to individual learning. His only dogma is an unwavering belief in the worth, basic goodness and dignity of each learner as a unique person with the capacity to grow and mature.

The humanist educator accepts the learner as he is rather than what it is thought he should be, acknowledging that what he is is neither to his credit nor condemnation. For this reason the learner is never judged on how his talents compare with those of others but rather on how well he uses his talents. For the humanist, education has as its main purpose to help each learner know himself, respect himself and become himself as he learns to work with and for others.

Humanistic philosophy regards skill development in the schools as incidental to broader humanistic goals. Learning experiences are geared to individual rather than group standards an an environment in which learning and achievement are their own rewards. Skill development is acquired from a self determined need and desire on the part of the individual student without external devices that compare reward and punish.

Individual feeling, emotion, attitude, self concept and self image are the major concerns in this setting because they have a powerful influence on the learning process.

The humanist is forced to reject all testing unless it is used to assist individual learning. John Holt, in his book The Underachieving School, summarizes this rejection of testing very well in these words:

> "There is no reason except to relieve our own anxieties and insecurity that we should constantly know what children are learning. What true education requires of us is faith and courage - faith that children want to make sense out of life and will work hard at it, courage to let them do it without continually poking, prodding and meddling."

It should be recognized that, while the bulk of American tradition supports the humanistic approach not only in education but for all of major social problems, actual educational performance has been largely an expression of behaviorist philosophy. It is difficult indeed to find a truly humanistic educational model while bahaviorism abounds in public school classrooms and is quite possibly the cause of much of the current unrest in the schools.

Legitimate reform of education will require a serious and dedicated effort on the part of the professionals, in partnership with the public, to establish a truly humanistic climate in the schools. This is nothing new and has characterized every reform movement in education for at least five centuries. But the winds of change have increased their velocity to the point where educators no longer have the luxury of wasting time pursuing improper goals.

At the very time education seems poised for some significant progress in the right direction, uniform testing looms as not only a detriment to reform but a measure that will further entrench a bahaviorist system which has never worked and can never work unless educators are willing to repudiate the basic democratic tradition regarding the dignity and worth of the individual.

This is the hypocracy about which young people are so concerned today.

This is the crux of the philosophic issue involved.

PART II

IMPLICATIONS FROM EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH
REGARDING
STANDARDIZED TESTING

"It is always unrealistic to expect the payoff from instruction will be apparent in the performance of learners at test time."

Robert E. Stake, Associate Director of the Center for Instructional Research and Curriculum Research, University of Illinois

The desire to compile comparative data based on uniform testing has frequently intrigued professional educators. Horace Mann suggested this possibility as far back as 1845. He rejected the idea because he soon perceived its dangerous consequences. He later wrote:

> "We cannot drive our people up a dark avenue, even though it be the right one, but we must hang the starry lights of knowledge about it, and show them not only the directness of its course but the beauty of the way that leads to it."

Despite continuous rejection, the idea has persisted because it seems to satisfy a drive - to excel, to win, - to demonstrate superiority - to impose ones values on others. The efforts to garner comparative data from standardized testing reached their zenith in the mid 1930s.

Systematic research and study of these programs convinced most professional educators that normative data from standardized tests could never be used in making valid decisions because of their unreliability and misinterpretation.

Harl Douglass in his classic 1934 study entitled "The Effects of State and National Testing on the Secondary School" identified the following major consequences of uniform testing:

1. It artificially determined educational objectives and tended to freeze the curriculum

2. It tended to dwarf the teacher reducing him to the status of a tutor for examinations

3. It motivated regimentation and mechanization of the educational process

4. It emphasized memorization as the major factor in learning

5. It prevented adaptation of instruction to the needs of local school systems

6. It stimulated standardization and an undesirable uniformity

7. It emphasized only those educational outcomes that could be measured by objective tests

8. It created a serious barrier to growth, evolution and improvement of education

9. It produced no evidence that greater educational efficiency resulted from its operation

Through the years, as a result of these and other findings, testing specialists turned their attention to the development of both diagnostic tests and general achievement tests that measured correlates of learning rather than learning itself.

Most testing experts recognize that any general achievement test is essentially an authoritarian instrument based primarily on the author's idea of what should be learned and how it should be measured. They are all quick to point out the fact that scores from such tests correlate only moderately with actual performance. Only the most blatantly commercial testing specialist would contend that a standardized test can accurately assess what a student is capable of doing. Research has universally disclosed an abundance of errors and hazards that preclude the use of these results for assessing either the quality or progress of systems, groups or individuals. It can be stated unequivocally that no one, at this point in time, has been able to eliminate testing errors.

Very briefly, objective research has identified the following major weaknesses of standardized tests:

1. There is no such thing as the validity of a test. No test is valid for all purposes in all situations, or for all groups of students.

2. There is no standardized test that can be used to judge the educational level of a community, state or nation nor were any ever constructed to serve such a function.

3. Tests may measure individual differences among students, but cannot be used to assess the extent that students have learned what the school attempted to teach.

4. Educational scholars, in seeking suitable instruments for appraising educational achievement have examined and rejected all of the achievement tests commonly used in American schools.

5. Test scores of Negroes are poor predictors of their performance and the error in prediction slights their potential ability; hence, any standardized achievement test produces an assessment procedure grossly inappropriate.

6. Uncritical acceptance of a test result is not justified by either testing theory or testing research and will result in unwise decisions.

7. There are no tests that can adequately measure listening comprehension, ability to analyze, or motivation - all important factors in the learning process.

8. Most human gifts and talents cannot be identified or measured in a standardized test.

9. Testing specialists have not developed scales that describe the similarity between teaching and testing; hence, we have no way to know how closely the tests match the instruction.

10. Interpretation of test results is frequently wrong.

11. Many tests do a poor job of predicting future performance.

The weight of evidence from research on this issue is clearcut and overwhelming. Test results may be used as one tool in diagnosing individual student learning problems. Normative data from such tests are so error laden and subject to so many variables that their use in assessment and decision making can be very dangerous.

PART III

COMMON SENSE PERCEPTIONS ABOUT
STANDARDIZED TESTING

"The greater the threat posed by a test, the less it
can measure and the less it can encourage learning."

John Holt
The Underachieving School

While philosophy suggests testing is a major tool of the educational autocrat and objective research clearly demonstrates the unreliability of test data, common sense and logic also provide some devastating arguments against the Michigan State Testing Program. The many teachers and other professional educators who work regularly in local school districts may not be familiar with either the philosophic or research implications about standardized testing, but their perceptions about the effect of testing on the day to day educational operation will be much more accurate than the perceptions of either theorists or school officials far removed from the classroom scene.

Common sense and logic derived from intimate experience on the cutting edge of education provide the following perceptions about the effects of comparative testing programs:

1. Regardless of how diligently teachers and administrators strive to raise student achievement scores, fifty percent of the students tested will still score below average on any test that is administered.

There has been much concern recently about students who score below the fifteenth percentile on the state achievement tests. Somehow the impression has been given that the achievement level of these students can be improved. Hopefully, real achievement for all students improves every year. For the sake of argument, however, assume that considerable effort is concentrated on just the students who score below the fifteenth percentile and their average achievement score (not necessarily achievement) is raised to the fortieth percentile. What has been gained? Since this is comparative data,

someone will always score the highest and someone else will score the lowest with the balance of those tested falling in the same distribution percentiles in between.

2. Comparison based on test norms will inevitably motivate large scale deception.

As the state continues to gather comparative information from its uniform testing program and publicly identifies the rank of individual schools and school districts, administrators, teachers, and students will join forces to outwit the state by any means possible. No one appreciates being compared unfavorably and unfairly with someone else. Those who are compared unfavorably will either try to change their status or learn to hate themselves.

Assuming that the group that is compared unfavorably accepts the validity of the test results and honestly tries to improve its status, there is no guarantee that the status will improve particularly if everyone else puts forth an equal effort. It is much easier to enter into game playing and deception which has characterized the past history of such situations. In fact, deception is the only practical approach for escaping a degrading identification.

Deception can also work two ways. The security measures associated with the distribution of the Michigan State Test booklets is evidence that the State Education Department doesn't really trust local educators. But what guarantees do local educators have that the State Education Department will not manipulate the test scores?

Common sense indicates that this is a grossly unhealthy situation.

3. Comparisons based on test norms will create injustices for many individuals.

Already the Michigan Testing Program has affected adversely many competent educators. Recently two highly respected, experienced and well qualified black principals were placed on probation because the state test norms for their schools were in the lower percentiles. Originally, the local board of education proposed to dismiss these principals but public pressure forced a reconsideration.

Last spring one of Michigan's more substantial school districts was in the process of selecting a new superintendent. The board finally reached the stage where only two candidates were under consideration. Three members supported candidate "A" and three supported candidate "B". The seventh member, in announcing his support for candidate "A", gave as his reason the fact that state test norms from candidate "A's" school district were at the 65th percentile while norms from candidate "B's" district were only at the 20th percentile.

In another middle sized school district, a citizen's committee was organized to oust the school administration and board of education when it was learned that the state testing norms in that district were lower than in neighboring school districts.

While these are isolated examples, they will increase in frequency as the testing program becomes more firmly entrenched. It is not impossible to conceive of citizens awaiting as anxiously for the state test results as they do for the result of a football game with a traditional rival. And if the district loses out in the competition, woe to the poor teacher or administrator who is finally identified as being responsible for the low scores.

4. Comparative test scores will motivate dissension and controversy at the very time the profession needs unity and cooperation.

It is unfortunate that many uninformed, naive, but well meaning people will regard the state test scores as infallible criteria for judging the worth of a local school or school system. In those schools or districts where the norms are low, they will be accepted as absolute evidence that certain educators have performed poorly. Demands will be made for scapegoats; individuals and groups will become overly defensive, and the resultant dissension and controversy will divert energy and effort away from productive projects for improving the quality of education. Needless time and effort will be wasted in a fruitless, negative, and impossible attempt to fix blame.

It is tragedy indeed that this must occur at a time when many schools are finding it difficult just to keep operating because of the lack of adequate financing. Buffeted by inflation, taxpayer revolts, employee demands, student dissent and genuine concern about the quality of program, Michigan education, more than ever before, needs professional unity if it is to survive. The testing program merely introduces more unnecessary confusion and divisiveness thus prohibiting an honest and sincere attempt to cope with the real and significant problems of our schools.

5. The Michigan testing program wastes funds that are more urgently needed for other projects of greater importance.

At a time when there are insufficient funds to support even basic educational programs, how can substantial expenditures be justified for a program so fraught with controversy and which really duplicates the efforts of many local school districts?

Most school systems have financed and maintained a local testing program for many years. The imposition of a statewide uniform program is simply a duplication of local effort and is unwarranted particularly during a period of acute financial deprivation.

6. The use of Michigan test scores as a basis for distributing Compensatory Education Funds constitutes double jeopardy.

In medieval days, people were tried for their alleged misdeed by ordeal. It was a common practice to bind the hands and feet of an accused evil doer and throw him into a body of water. If he floated, he was guilty and quickly hung. If he sank he was innocent but was left to drown. How little things have changed since the dark ages. In Michigan it is now necessary for a significant number of students to score below the fifteenth percentile on the State Achievement Tests in order for a school district to qualify for compensatory education funds.

After qualifying it is expected that, through the use of this money, the school district will show substantial progress in raising its achievement norms. If it accomplishes this objective eventually it will lose the funds because it no longer has so

called "disadvantaged" students. If it fails to raise the achievement norms it will lose the additional money because it failed. The double jeopardy is obvious.

7. If the Michigan State Testing Program continues and expands, it will in time produce a sterile, unproductive, autocratic and uniform state school system.

When opposition is silenced or eliminated, the deception exposed and people grow weary of the continuous scapegoating, the state will finally be able to establish its absolute hegemony over Michigan schools. There will be no local involvement in decision making. No longer will individual Michigan school districts be characterized by their exciting, innovative and creative programs. Teachers, principals and superintendents will be mere civil servants operating as marionettes in a vast bureaucratic wasteland.

Decisions will be made by the computers in Lansing and curriculum will be based on behaviorist conditioning. Courses of study will be prepared in Lansing and state inspectors will visit local schools to make certain that the uniform program is being followed.

The problems of inadequate financing, racism, poverty, student unrest, and irrelevant learning experiences will still plague the schools except that no local board or faculty will have the courage or desire to attack these problems with boldness, vigor, imagination or creativity.

Significant local needs will undoubtedly be ignored on most occasions because they will conflict with uniform state standards. In short, control rather than democratic leadership will be the order of the day.

The firm establishment of uniform state testing and the adoption of common goals will provide the State Board of Education with the major tools necessary to impose its control. Already the more forthright State Education Department officials are

saying openly that "local leadership has failed in its efforts to solve crucial educational problems and it is now time for the state to take over."

In the final analysis, local educators are the only ones who live daily with major educational problems. They share with students and parents the grave concern about the defects of current educational programs. But, they have also had many unfortunate experiences with fadism and are quite familiar with the many nostrums being peddled by charlatans who trade on this concern by promising quick and simplistic cures for all the educational ills.

The experienced educator is painfully aware that there are no panceas for those ills. Legitimate progress is brutally slow and requires money, time, patience, understanding, professional unity, involvement and cooperation. Knowing all of this, the professional educator senses immediately that a comparative state testing program works against all of the requisites for real educational reform and improvement.

The Michigan State Testing Program in its current context can only be viewed as reactionary fadism. It was tried and rejected fifty years ago. Unfortunately, while most educational fads are harmless, uniform state testing is a poisonous nostrum with the potential to kill or at best prolong the sickness in our midst.

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Dr. READ. I appreciated the quotation that you read and I was amused that Dr. Kearney said "that has to be John Holt." Well, this expresses essentially—it was not John Holt, I know—but it expresses what John Holt says: that there are many influences on the learning processes and at the best the teacher is probably a midwife to this process, and the things that really condition learning is how the child feels about what happens to him in the school experience.

Senator MONDALE. And if a child cannot read or write or count and he is in the fourth grade, what does he think of himself?

Dr. READ. Okay, but I am not setting this up as an either/or kind of proposition. My contention is that ultimately children will learn to read and write at their own level.

Senator MONDALE. But we have schools where most of the children are delivered such a poor education that they do not get the fundamental tools of reading and writing and counting. I think I am a humorist, too, but how can you just say, "Well, we will give them humanism." Some of these institutions are failing so abysmally that their only protection is to keep the public from knowing what is really going on.

Now, if Mark Shedd is right in Philadelphia, and two-thirds of the children in 50 of their elementary schools are unable to comprehend what the teacher is saying, is that not a disaster of enormous proportions, and are not the tests that disclosed that disaster things which should have been disclosed, information that we must know? I did not realize it was that bad.

BAD INSTITUTIONALIZATION

Dr. READ. Of course, the first assumption is that this this is a correct observation, and I am not sure it is. The second is that this is a result of bad institutionalization and I suspect this is true. The children reached this state, although I would not contend that it is that bad, because we know we have many youngsters in the schools that are turned off. The assumption is that this comes about because we have not given sufficient attention to these cognitive skills, particularly in the areas of reading and math. My answer to that is that we probably have put too much attention on these skills and very early have labeled children failures that do not proceed as rapidly as others, and they give up.

This becomes very apparent about the fourth or fifth grade because we are trying to measure on a universal standard instead of letting children move along on their own continuum of learning. If we do this, the children will achieve these skills and reach them. What we really do is to get anxiety-prone about the end of the first grade. We give a test and find 50 percent of the students are below that norm or standard, and we assume that this is a bad thing and we have got to do something to catch them up, and we go into all kinds of remedial programs. We develop all kinds of anxieties for the children. We begin to label them and then we wonder why they give up.

The answer is not more and more emphasis on the fundamental skills, but rather, to look at the total environment of the schools to find out why children ultimately give up on the learning process. We

know nationally a third of the children drop out of school before they finish high school. It is a horrible statistic.

It is my contention that they do not drop out because there has not been enough attention to the cognitive skills, rather it is the result of a system that does not individualize everybody on the basis of his personal standard.

Senator HART. Thanks very much. I am glad I am sitting in on these hearings because if I had any thought that at their conclusion I would be in a position to make other than a very tentative judgment about what we should do I might be disappointed.

To return, if you will, to the point I was attempting to make—or the answers I was fishing around for from Dr. Kearney, how do you judge the quality of education that a child is receiving? Do you say that that is a question that ought not concern us or it is a question to which no answer can be given, or our method of getting the answer is wrong?

METHOD IS WRONG

Dr. READ. The method of getting the answer is wrong. You see, we are all looking at the educational enterprise and we are all coming up with answers and trying to divine what quality education can be. The only one that can define the quality of education is the client, the child that goes through the program. We will not have quality education until every child that goes through this process ends up by saying, you know, "Those folks in that school did the very best that they could to help me become a knowledgeable, productive, and participating member of the society in which I serve."

We set up certain sequences of courses and so on and assume this is good for the student, and you hear a lot of talk, for example, about frills in the educational program—these are always made by adults, and they are made on the basis of the things that were important to him as an adult. For me, in my educational experience, algebra was a frill because I never had any use for it. We all are selective in the learning experiences we have. We will not have any degree of quality in the educational program until the whole programing is so broad and so versatile that every kid feels comfortable when he goes through this, and the application of any kind of standard by which you evaluate and judge the student as he moves through this will ultimately turn many kids off and will ultimately create the kind of situation where the student says, "There was nothing there for me."

Senator HART. Now, do I understand you to say that you agree that the ability to read and to write and to handle arithmetic is critical to becoming an educated person, but that left free of too much organized testing at some stage or other—and it will vary from child to child—all of the children will learn to read, write, and add?

Dr. READ. Of course. The research shows, for example, that reading in and of itself is not that complicated a skill. Some wag remarked one time that if we taught kids to speak the way we teach them to read, we would have a nation of mutes. Reading is a very natural process; but again, we have to go into this comparative kind of thing where immediately as a child enters his formal education if he does not measure up to the norm, a negative judgment is made and he is labeled. And even to the matter of the gold stars—who gets the quick rapport

with the teacher? The child that learns to read very quickly, and the child that does not is pushed aside.

This process increases with intensity as the child moves up the educational ladder. Here we are talking about feeling and attitudes. These are the affective domains that Dr. Kearney was talking about, and for the most part, we want to ignore them; and I think these are the most important things that condition the child's ability to go through the school and acquire these necessary skills.

Now, every child is not going to achieve them at the same level. We all are different heights. We all have a different talent as far as recall and expressing ourselves verbally or anything you measure. People fall along a standard distribution curve and we get hung-up on this because we seem to think that we have to bring the 50 percent who are below average on any measurable skill up to average. It is never going to happen.

I am 5 feet 6 inches. I am going to join this new movement for small people. If that philosophy had been applied to me when I went through the educational process, they would have put me on the rack and tried to stretch me out to 5 feet 8 inches or whatever the norm was for that particular age and group. This is what we literally do to children all the time.

Part of this is in the use of these devices that really have nothing to do with learning motivational devices, the honor societies, the plaques, the gold stars and all these other things that are supposed to be the incentive for children to improve. Actually, this does not happen and by the time the children get to the seventh or eighth grade many of them take great pride in the fact that they flunk everything. This becomes a status symbol as much as the A or B.

Senator HART. I think I am clear on one thing. It may be a very minor thing. A standardized test for arithmetic, that is something we can hack. You are saying that given a classroom of the fourth, seventh or, 11th grade produces a variety of performances and we tend to say that the poor performer is doomed as far as math is concerned.

Dr. READ. We say it very literally.

Senator HART. You are suggesting that it is just being given at the wrong time in the evolution.

INDIVIDUAL LEARNING CYCLES

Dr. READ. Yes, plus the fact that there are some people that take a longer period of time to get to a particular goal than others. We put children in a block of 13 years, roughly; they enter school at kindergarten and finish at grade 12. The assumption is, on the part of everybody, that all children are going to go through those years at the same rate of speed and all end up at the same place at the end of that time. These children begin to spread the first day of school in terms of the particular continnum that each child will follow in his learning cycle.

Senator HART. Is that true equally with respect to grammar school and high school and primary and secondary?

Dr. READ. Well, I think that elementary schools have tried to cope with this problem more effectively than secondary schools. I see provisions for individual differences disappearing about the fourth or

fifth grade. For example, the formal instruction in reading ends about that time. It is assumed by the time he reaches the fifth or sixth grade he has all the skills necessary to read whatever is used as a part of the learning process. This just is not true and even our textbook companies make this assumption; that is, you will get a 12th grade book or 10th or ninth grade book and this assumption is that all children entering the ninth grade can read at the same basic level. It just is not true. They will spread 12 or 13 years by the time they reach this level, yet the textbooks are all geared to the middle, slow enough so the poorest reader can keep up and yet not too slow to turn off the kids that can go way beyond this; and in the process you do an injustice to both groups.

Senator HART. Well, what would you do?

Dr. READ. Well, I think there are many things that can be done and this is one of the reasons it bothers me, because I think testing will destroy some of the creative things that various school systems are using to cope with this problem. You mentioned Philadelphia, for example. To me, one of the most exciting things that has happened in secondary education is the Parkway School where the children literally go to school in the city. Now, if we had such a school in Jackson—and I would like to start one—the teachers would be reluctant to go into this because they would say, "Look, the State is coming around here and they are going to give tests and if our children do not do well on those tests we are going to be judged poorly and the whole program isn't worth the effort."

What the tests will do is make teachers revert to a standard and teach for the tests. This has been characteristic of all attempts to get at this thing through tests in the past. We found in the initial performance contracting thing in Texarkana, when the Government went in to audit the program, it found that the company had actually taught the children the test or given the children the answers to the test.

Now, honest teachers will not give students the answer, but they will surely be conditioned by what is on the test and they will devote all their efforts to that, instead of trying to individualize and trying to at least create a kind of environment where every child feels comfortable and feels he is progressing.

You cannot do this with these inviduous comparisons that are continually being made.

Senator HART. Would tests be helpful and of value, provided teachers and school administrators and parents did not use the tests the way we use them?

Dr. READ. This is why I started out in the beginning of my testimony with the analogy of drugs. I think a test is only useful as one instrument in diagnosing an individual problem of learning, but when you try to give this on a mass basis across the State and then publish normative data on where schools stand, you are going to ultimately impose a uniformity and mass conformity on the education process, which is just what we do not want if we are going to make the program meaningful to every child that comes through it.

Senator HART. Can that ever be achieved in a system of tax-supported education?

Dr. READ. What is that?

Senator HART. The variety and richness and quality.

Dr. READ. We had better get it, because that is our major mission. You see, you asked the question about what the role of the school was, and Dr. Kearney said, "Well, I think there are just some things a school cannot do." Well, I happen to believe the school is probably the most significant institution for achieving change within the society. If we just mirror or replicate dastardly social forces that have kept us from obtaining certain goals in terms of combating racism and poverty—if the schools just mirror those forces, then you have a static society.

I happen to belong to a philosophic school——

Senator HART. But is that not the problem of all our institutions? Every institution and especially the schools, with the sensitivity of the parents' concern for the child, is going to mirror the society's attitude. It is wrong, but——

Dr. READ. It is wrong, and what institution is going to break that cycle? Do you know of any other institution that can break the cycle if the schools cannot?

Senator HART. I think the schools are even more vulnerable to the mass majority operants than any of the others.

Dr. READ. This can never be an excuse, though.

Senator HART. I know it is not an excuse, but it suggests my pessimism is sound and that it is the least likely place we will see the change.

Dr. READ. I know, and it is easy to be pessimistic today when we see these things happening; yet for years I have heard the statement "We know what ought to be done but we cannot do it because the community will not let us do it. The State Department will not let us do it. The forces will not let us do it." I contend that if you are really concerned about education as an institution for change, the school administrators should be out working with the community continually changing attitudes; and I have seen this happen. Sure, you get scars all over your psychological back as a result of the battles you go through in this process, but to merely sit back and say "This is unattainable; therefore the easiest thing to do is to perpetuate the things that have created the problems with which your committee is concerned"——

Senator MONDALE. We have been asked to make some recommendations to the Congress on how we might achieve greater educational opportunity in this country, and as a part of that, to define the extent to which there is inequality, and to the extent we can, why and what we might do about it; and what educational inequality or equality means. These are all tough judgmental questions.

If we cannot establish some benchmarks like whether a child can count or read, how can we possibly begin with any kind of effort to determine where we are and where we should go?

Dr. READ. Yes, but I think this is the wrong way, because what you are doing here is again trying to impose a mass standard which will not be understood.

Senator MONDALE. What standard would you impose if any, or how would you judge the extent to which a school is a success in a way that we can understand it in a public policy body and be helpful?

Criteria To Judge School Effectiveness

Dr. Read. The first and most important criteria I would use for judging the effectiveness of the school is the percentage of children that leave school before graduation, the push-out and dropout rate. I think this is the most significant statistic. If you really want to find out why the school has failed, then you have got to do a study of the rejects. You have got to find out why these children dropped out, because the American schools are designed for everybody. They are not designed for an elitist group in the society. We are not trying to develop meritocracy in our society.

Senator Mondale. So, the first one is dropouts. What other standard?

Dr. Read. I would be concerned about the amount of freedom that exists for innovation. I think that until you create the kind of climate where people are willing to stick their necks out and do some things that have never been tried before, literally—because we cannot do much worse than we have been doing. The direction we are going in this testing business will discourage this kind of thing because people are going to play it safe. They are going to follow the usual, traditional, and safe way.

You have got to create the climate. The promising innovations like the Parkway School and the middle schools that have been developed in and around the Chicago area need to be studied and we must find out why they have been effective and begin to implement them across the country. We must begin to establish, just as industry does—some prototypes and models where we can achieve this goal of comprehensiveness and broadness in the school program.

Senator Mondale. It is my impression that, in fact, even when there have been no tests, schools have been failing impressively by your dropout standard.

Dr. Read. Sure.

Senator Mondale. And as a matter of fact, we had testimony here from New York that traditionally, maybe 40 years ago, poor children were not even programed to go to high school. If you looked at the number of children who went into grade school and the slots available, it was quite clear that the whole school system expected poor kids to fail and they did.

Dr. Read. And they still do.

Senator Mondale. That is right, but they claim, not as much as before, and you say that one of the healthiest things about all of this turmoil is that for the first time the country is beginning to ask, "What about these poor children?" If we do not hold the schools accountable for these basic skills—and I agree the dropout rate would be another significant standard—how do we, first of all, define the extent to which schools are failing, and how do we define the strategy by which we can overcome inequality?

Because I can see—even though I am very much moved by the need for humanity, I think that is very important and too often ignored; I think there has been a lack of humanity in many of these schools for a long time, even where there is not a test. But how can we in Congress or in the State legislatures develop a set of strategies that bring hope, if we do not have anything to go on? Isn't that a wonderful way

for a punk school system to protect itself from being seen as it really is by the public that it is supposed to support?

Dr. READ. Yes. Well, first, I don't buy this. A while ago when you were talking with Dr. Kearney, you pointed out there are some schools in the ghetto that are doing a much more effective job than the Grosse Points and the Birminghams (the wealthier areas), only because that judgment is made on the basis of what the children do. This has been the one thing that has been used in the past to determine a good school and a poor school—what the children do.

SELECTION PROCESS

Now, if I am a teacher and if I have the privilege of selecting my students, I will look good because I will not take a chance with high-risk students. This is what integration is all about really. We cannot make comparisons between schools until we get the same socioeconomic racial mix in all of our schools.

The prestigious schools like Harvard and Yale received their prestige because they were highly selective in the kind of students they took in, and the schools generally that have the reputation of being good because they score high on the tests and because they have more students go on to college—this has nothing to do with the ability of the teachers in that school system or the way it is run or the dollars that go to support it. It is based strictly on the inclination of the children that came there to conform to some very narrow concepts that we have about education. This is the key.

As long as we continue to use this criteria to make the judgments, we are never going to improve the image or give credit to those districts that are making some real inroads in this area even though it does not show up in the tests.

I can think of some things that I might do in Jackson that would lower our relative standardized test standing and yet I think they would be good for the children over the long haul because we are still talking about relative things.

Senator MONDALE. What kind of community is Jackson?

Dr. READ. It runs the gamut. We are about 16-percent black. We have a considerable number of blue-collar and middle-class and some affluence. We have a pretty good mix.

Senator MONDALE. What is the population?

Dr. READ. The school district is about 85,000. The school district goes beyond the city's boundaries.

Senator MONDALE. How many children in the school system?

Dr. READ. 15,000.

Senator MONDALE. Would you object if we called Dr. Kearney back just to respond? This is sort of unusual, but I understand the two of you have appeared together before. If you do not mind.

Dr. READ. We have been on a couple of panels.

Senator MONDALE. Would you respond in a general way to this criticism directed to testing, Dr. Kearney, that it inhibits the humanitarian approach, that it may prevent teachers from doing some of the other things that may be more important in order to test well and, in effect, it does set the standards for schools in an unfair way? Dr. Read made the arguments much better than I do.

Dr. KEARNEY. Yes, sir. I guess you really do not want me to go through point by point and try to answer each one. We have done that on other occasions.

I, too, consider myself something of a humanist. I began my experience in the area of public education as a Latin teacher, so if on no other grounds, I suspect that qualifies me.

I do not think necessarily that a statewide educational assessment effort has to stifle creativity or has to stifle the many things that should go on in the public school system. There are problems with educational assessment efforts and there are problems in the current educational assessment efforts within the State of Michigan, but I think they are problems that can be overcome and I think that we need to proceed in that direction.

WHAT SHOULD SCHOOLS DO?

I think that we need to seriously consider the question of what is it that the schools should do, and that we should be able to come to some conclusions within a State, I think, and certainly within districts, within school buildings, in terms of individual children, that this, indeed, is what it is that this school or this set of circumstances is going to provide for this particular child or group of children.

Dr. Read advanced the argument in his paper and I think also in his testimony that standardized achievement testing will never permit us to do this because we will always end up with 50 percent of the children below the median and we will never be able to set what it is that the schools should achieve. I would disagree with this.

I think if we can move in the direction of criterion referenced testing, which I referred to earlier, that it is our responsibility not to set a standard for every child, but certainly to set some minimum levels that the school should seek to attain for all children who go through them. That is simply going to guarantee them, hopefully, some minimum kind of skills and minimum knowledge in certain areas that I would feel they need to pursue whatever it is that they choose to pursue in school or following school.

MINIMUM STANDARDS

I think you can then leave it open to all kinds of broad ranges in terms of individuals or groups as to where they go and the maximum they reach, but I think there is nothing antithetical in the notion of setting minimal levels of performance or minimal levels of expectation for all children that go through a public school system.

I think it goes back to one of Senator Hart's questions: Indeed, what are the purposes of the schools? And if the purposes of the schools are not to impart some of these things, then I suspect we should get into some serious dialog and decide what it is schools should do. Indeed, whatever it comes out that schools should do, then I think we need to find out whether they are doing it.

I recognize the problems that are inherent in attempting to be able to assess and take soundings of children's learnings and understandings, whether it be in the area of cognitive skills or whether it be in the area of values or attitudes and the like.

I do not know how much further you want me to pursue this. I would take exception to many of the statements that Dr. Read has indicated in part III of his testimony. I do not know, Senator, if you want me to go on here or if you want to ask some specific questions.

Senator HART. Doctor, do you agree that while you can by a test measure at least the skill in mathematics—and I would assume, to a slightly lesser degree, reading—that all it means is that at that given moment in time there is this variation in this group?

Dr. KEARNEY. Yes.

Senator HART. And that 2 years later you might find the student who looked bad on that test, had in his cycle, caught up and might have even out distanced the fellow who looked good before?

Dr. KEARNEY. This is possible; however, in large scale testing where you have a large number of cases, you are generally going to see some stability in those things in terms of at least the groups. When you get down to the building level and certainly the class level and the level of individual children, you will see numerous exceptions to this, but I think in general you will see fairly stable measurements from point to point when you are dealing with very large groups of children. We would not suggest that the norm in the State of Michigan, the 50th percentile or the median in the State of Michigan, should become the standard for all children by any stretch of the imagination.

We would, however, suggest that we need to be able to state, unequivocably, what it is that the schools should be able to provide the children, at least in terms of some minimal levels. That is the schools' responsibility that it has taken on as a public institution. We are interested in finding out to what extent children are being served in this regard; without attempting in any way to make all children hit the 50th percentile or without attempting in any way to put a level or ceiling on the achievement or understandings or learnings of any individual child.

Senator MONDALE. Dr. Read, what would you have the Federal Government do to improve education, and on what basis do you recommend it?

Dr. READ. Okay. I think, first of all, there has to be a removal of distrust that seems to permeate education at every level. Christopher Jencks did a study of the large metropolitan school districts and after he finished this study—and I guess he is one of the most distinguished sociologists in the country—he said that there was one thing that characterized large urban school systems, and it could be summarized in one word: Distrust. School boards do not trust superintendents; superintendents do not trust teachers; teachers do not trust students; and as a consequence, a whole series of regulations and child accounting forms, controls and the like are established.

BASIC APPROPRIATION FOR ALL CHILDREN

For example, I think categorical aid is essentially reflection of this kind of distrust. My own feeling is that there should be a basic appropriation made for all school children, no matter where they are, a basic foundation kind of thing in terms of dollar amounts; and then, beyond that, I think there ought to be funds set aside for those school districts that are willing to innovate—an expansion, if you please, of

Title III, of the ESEA—which provides support money, seed money for the development of new programs to attack this basic problem of individualization in providing experiences for all children; and this ought to be designed so these prototypes, pilot models, are developed throughout the country. Then there should be further funds for their dissemination where they have proved to be successful; and again, I would use the one statistic, the dropouts, the students leaving, and the movement of students through the program to evaluate what happened.

Senator MONDALE. In other words, in addition to trying to fully fund Title III, you would expand that?

Dr. READ. I would expand that and maybe get rid of all the other titles.

Senator MONDALE. You would probably just have a program of general Federal aid to education?

Dr. READ. I am strongly committed to the general aid principle rather than categorical aid for vocational programs and for compensatory education and this kind of thing. I think experience has shown——

Senator MONDALE. You do not believe in compensatory education? You do not think it means anything?

Dr. READ. Yes; because I do not know what you are compensating for. I think the fact that these funds have been channeled into certain areas with the thought that we are going to raise the achievement level of children has been a false illusion and the data shows this. I would challenge you to show me one case where these programs have done this.

Senator MONDALE. The test data, but you do not want that?

Dr. READ. I have seen the data.

Senator MONDALE. Do you trust it?

Dr. READ. I have visited many model programs on site inspection. I have read the studies. And even trying to dig it out through the use of tests does not seem to indicate that this happens. I am suspicious of all test data because there are so many variables that affect these test results.

For example, we know that if we go into a new program, immediate positive results in terms of what kids do on tests is shown, but over a long period of time this disappears. I think you are familiar with the comprehensive evaluation that was done with Headstart and the conclusion was that this had had virtually no effect on the children that were involved. I am not sure it did not. I do not know whether you can identify whether it did or not for maybe 20 years, I have had experience with Headstart programs in trying to get a panel of parents whose children were involved in it, and I could not get anybody to attest to its efficacy. And it suddenly dawned on me that if I had to get up and publicly say that I had spawned a disadvantaged child, I would not participate either.

So many of these things tend to label and identify, and parents and children resent this; and again, it is part of a whole process of building a real lousy image and a lousy attitude toward school.

Again, I would like to ask Phil this question: Where would you set this minimal standard? I am curious because I have never been able to set one that would apply universally across the board to every child

at any given point in his educational career, knowing that there are various time sequences when children reach a specific goal. What would it be? Fifteen percentile or 20?

Dr. KEARNEY. I think we would set it through the following type of a process which, as you know, we are attempting to do. That is, with the help and assistance of educators throughout the State of Michigan, citizens throughout the State of Michigan, and students throughout the State of Michigan, be able to say some things about the common program objectives in at least seven priority instructional areas; and hopefully, through that process, by some kind of consensus, to say that at the conclusion of the primary cycle, for example, that perhaps 80 percent of the children in the State of Michigan ought to have obtained this minimal level.

To some extent it is somewhat arbitrary. But I think we professionals in education who are saying to people that we have schools and are running schools to provide certain kinds of services, have got to attempt to tell people what it is that we are going to give them; and then we have got to give them the information that indicates whether or not we have done that.

ACCOUNTABILITY

I think it is all wrapped up with the notion of accountability. Accountability, I realize, has become kind of like a fad, like motherhood and patriotism, and it means a lot of things to a lot of people and different things to different people; but it has two factors. Accountability means that you have information and data on the performance of an individual or group of individuals or a system or a set of systems. Then, second, accountability means that you are in a position to make some changes or alter some conditions based on the particular performance data you get. It boils down to a question of information and data. All kinds of information and data are going to be subject to all kinds of misinterpretations, whether it is test data or whatever kind of data it is; but I think we are putting our heads in the sand and under the rug if we turn away from attempting—while we recognize that our efforts are primitive—if we turn away from attempting to provide information to people who are going to make decisions about education.

Senator MONDALE. It seems to me that we have pretty good accountability now for people who are rich enough to buy their own options, and almost always the option they buy is increasingly expensive. In other words, they do find a relationship between money and quality. They can do almost anything. They can deal with this humanity problem. They may want a child in a progressive school or an open school, or they may want a vocational training kind of school or they may want a lockstep, doctrinaire college entrance kind of school. They may want a military kind of school. They may want a high quality, expensive, all-white suburban school.

They make those judgments, and I think that they are able to buy accountability; and when those children start reaching their teens they, too, are a part of it because they can talk to their parents and together they can kind of go where they want to go.

But the problem is that persons of average means are delivered one plate to eat off of in education. It is called public schools, and they either eat from that plate or they starve.

Power To Hold Schools Accountable

It seems to me the problem is how do we give them some power to hold the schools accountable? How do we give them some way to make an intelligent judgment about their schools and what their schools are doing to their children? That is really the main problem we have here in Congress.

We have a local school system and I hope we always will, but how can we—through money, through intergration policies, through community control—through whatever it may be, try to deliver in the public sector a better, more responsive school system than we have today?

I do not see how we can get away from some kind of testing. I think the dropout phenomenon is good, but surely, whether a child is capable of reading, whether he has been taught to read or count, must have something to do with those test scores.

Dr. Read. Of course, if you buy the validity of testing, you are correct. But if the test is not valid and you know that certain people in the society are going to do poorly on the test and this has no relationship to their potential and you continually tell them "You are at the bottom of the norms that are issued here," how are you ever going to change this if this is your criteria and the criteria does not reflect the true potential or the true worth of the person? Who writes the test?

Senator Mondale. Which is worse, an effort to try to understand through the best test we can devise, or a system which leaves a rotten school system with a perfect defense—it is failing the children and they say "I am sorry. We cannot answer your question whether anyone can read because that interferes"——

Dr. Read. You do not have that either/or proposition if you are using a false proposition to judge the results, and I contend you are, because you are taking a sample of 2 hours of a child's total time in school and making a judgment of what he has learned on that basis. You are making an absolute judgment which people accept and this will prohibit, I think, any attempt to really get at the problem because you always get confused. At one time the schools would give those answers to parents of children who performed poorly on the test, "Well, your child is a slow learner; put him in the vocational school," or, "What do you expect us to do with what you gave us to work with?" Those answers do not go any more.

Any test you give you are going to have a group of children that fall below this level, and what do you say to them? "We are going to change this." If the judgment was made on height about me back in the 1930's they would have had to tell my parents, "I am sorry, your child is just this way and there is nothing we can do with him," if that was the criteria.

Senator Mondale. Do you see the validity in quality integrated education?

Dr. Read. Absolutely.

Senator Mondale. Do you support quality integrated education?

Dr. READ. Yes, because I think there is a lot of peer learning that goes on. I think we have built through neighborhood schools, an isolation in our school system that prohibits that kind of interchange between children in various cultural levels. This is the most crucial cultural problem we have. We must either get it together in this country or otherwise we are going to have separate societies.

Senator MONDALE. Do you see a cognitive learning achievement level, as well as a cultural achievement level, that flows from quality integrated education?

Dr. READ. Yes, I think it does.

Senator MONDALE. Do you think poor children introduced in a sensitive respectable way in a——

Dr. READ. Yes, if we do not get anxiety prone along about the second or third year when we find 15 percent of these children are below the 15 percentile.

Senator MONDALE. In other words, I think you are right. We led a fight out of this committee—and Senator Hart supported it—for a national bill to encourage efforts for the kind of school system which did not produce white flight, but in which everybody felt they were getting a better education, in which children were respected for what they were. I think that is what this country needs. But one of our arguments was that the testing seems to show that the poor children will do better and the advantaged children will not be hurt.

If we are going to win this great fight, which is essential to the health of America, we have got to give the best possible answers we can to concerned black and white parents, that everybody is going to do as well or better than they did before, together with a healthier society. But isn't testing important in this?

Dr. READ. Do you have any test data to substantiate this? All the test data does not give you this kind of answer.

Senator MONDALE. Well, we have heard from the project——

Senator HART. How would you establish that proposition with the data known to you?

Dr. READ. I think that ultimately we will be able to develop some procedures for judging individual goals based on the assumption that we start out with the program and we say, "These are some things we are going to attain." I am not sure that we can ever measure them in precise scientific terms, but there is a measurement that goes on, and I think this accountability we are talking about is reflected generally in how well people are willing to support the schools. I personally, am willing to trust to that kind of ultimate judgment.

People scream that we have never had accountability. In Michigan, we have accountability every year when we go to the parents in our local districts and ask them to vote for a millage tax levy in support of schools. If there is a general feeling that the school is doing a pretty good job, you get the millage. If there have been numerous instances where children have been isolated from the main setting and so on, this is the only way parents can strike back. And they do not strike back but not because of economic reasons. This is the classic excuse, "We voted the millage tax levy down because economic conditions are bad."

To meet this problem requires the involvement of people at the local level to dig at the real problems of education in that community. This is a long process and it takes time to convince every taxpayer that the schools have got to be concerned about every child. In the past we were concerned about the children of the parents who counted, and you pointed this out. That is where the accountability was.

Must Convince Total Community

Now, today, people are becoming more alert and the old answers do not go. You have got to convince the total community, and if you have a bad product you can quote all the testing statistics and so on that students have grown 6 months more than they did before, but down deep, if people do not feel this, they are going to turn against you at the time they vote.

This is the way you reach the problem, and all the test data in the world are not going to convince citizens that they have a good system. It largely comes back to how they feel about it.

I have a hypothesis that I cannot prove, but I suspect most people have deep-seated hostilities and deep-seated feelings against the public schools because most of the children when they went through this process had a miserable experience.

Senator Mondale. Your argument is somewhat analogous—I agree it is not fair—to the argument used by the banks when we wanted truth in lending. They said, "There is no way to calculate it. It cannot be done." We said, "Wait a minute, aren't there some benchmarks that you have in-house as to what money is worth and what you are charging?" So we forced that on the lending industry. As far as I know, they had no problem at all. They just took the little things they had in the lower left-hand drawer and they told the consumer about it.

I am sure it is not that easy in education, but there should be some way of telling citizens how well their children are doing.

Dr. Read. I guess this is the whole thing wrong with education. We do too much telling and not enough listening, and I do not think the two situations are analogous at all because you are talking about one of the most profound influences on the lives of children, which is the school. You see, what happens, is most of us, where the system was good to us, where we learned to use words well and write well and so on, and probably finished in the upper quartiles of both our high school classes and college classes, we go back and assume that what was good for us is also good for the total student body. This is the critical issue in education; that the people who teach and administer and operate the whole establishment can have very little empathy for maybe as high as 50 or 60 percent of the students that go through the process who did not have this identical kind of experience.

I could give you a test today on what we have heard in the testimony and then publish your scores on this. I wonder if you would like that?

Senator Mondale. I would not.

Dr. Read. I can. I have a test ready. Would you like to take it?

Senator Mondale. No.

Dr. Read. How do you get at the problem? By increasing the feelings that I am just not as good as you are? I will score 100 percent

on the test because I have done my homework, but there is a selective process that goes on in learning that each of us follows, and there will be a difference right in this room. Does it make the person who listened acutely because he had an interest in this a better person than the one over here?

You can say we are not going to label and we are not going to identify, but do not tell me this kind of thing is not going to happen. In one school system, two principals were bounced by the board of education because the norms in their schools were low. This happened to be two very competent black principals who had been personal friends of mine for years. Later, the board changed and put them on probation after there was a public upheaval about this kind of thing. There was accountability. There was a community that said, "Look, you are not going to do this to our sisters and brothers because of tests done at the State level."

This kind of thing will be repeated at the State level as this becomes more entrenched. People will look at test results on a simplistic level and they will see it as the sole evaluation of how well the teachers have taught and how well the programs have been developed, and they will wait for the results just like the football game results, with the traditional rival. There will be scapegoating, distrust, and division at the very time we have got to move.

Must Be Partnership

I think the whole problem of the role between the State education department and the intermediate districts and so on has got to be reopened and explored. Is this really a partnership kind of thing or are we going to move to a nationalized system of education based on concepts like they have in Europe—and they have done a good job of conditioning the people over there, with the Ministry of Education and the State school inspectors and so on. I am concerned about this.

I have seen in Michigan, for example, the role of partnership between local districts and the State education department change to one where they happen to be in an adversary position. Phil Kearney is not my enemy. We are both trying to do the same thing, but I get disturbed when he comes into the district and then gives a test and then gives me money on the basis of what the children do, and I question it.

He said in his testimony that we were not surprised. I certainly was not surprised by the results in Jackson. I could have told you about what was going to happen even before the tests were given and with reasonable accuracy. I did not learn anything new.

Senator Hart. I think what you are asking is, for all of us as a people, to just have new definitions for the purpose of education. You remind us we all went through this system. We are all schooled——

Dr. Read. Programed, conditioned, if you want to use those words.

Senator Hart (continuing). Programed or conditioned, no matter how we deny it. Subconsciously, we do accept grade performance for competence and a diploma for learning. It is awful tough to get away from that, just the way we accept military strength for national security How are you going to correct that? It is just as wrong.

Dr. Read. Just keep working on it.

Senator HART. Or if you got more social workers you would improve the quality of the comunity. That does not follow either. These are all assumptions.

Dr. READ. But you still have to go back to that basic institution, the school, where these things are perpetuated and continued for generation after generation. I cannot fault the system. The system of public education was tremendous for me, and I came from a poor family. I got a scholarship at the University of Michigan and I cannot fault the system. But I cannot take the further step and say because this was so good for me it has to be good for every child that comes into this setting now.

I think of the children that dropped out along the way that were with me. What did it do for them, the one that ended up in the establishment down on Cooper Street? I get concerned about an institution that does this, and I think somewhere in this whole context we have got to develop the kind of setting in the school where everybody feels that this institution is designed for him and is to help him to know himself.

Senator HART. It is an institution which is just one of many institutions in a competitive society, and there are going to be losers in the competitive society. If we want to change the character of our society, maybe we can get to some more rational evaluation of the institutions, but as long as we have all got that hangup, we are always going to have these hangups about proof that you are making it. Show me your paycheck or show me your grades or show me what kind of house you live in.

MERIT PAY SYSTEM FOR TEACHERS

Dr. READ. Let me just bring in one last point here. We have a State Senator in Michigan who wants to take the assessment test results now and develop a merit pay system for teachers. Now, that is great. Let's assume that he could do this for a minute, and we are into this area of competition, and one of the things we have got to start with is that the schools are not a competitive enterprise. It is a socialized institution. Our profession is socialized. We do not operate independently. Our clients have no choice. The people in Jackson have to come to the school that I administer and they have to accept a teacher to whom I assign their children. They cannot pick that teacher like they can pick their doctor or lawyer.

Now, in the private domain, this concept of merit works beautifully because allegedly the one that is the best performer ultimately ends up with all the clients or patients; but this does not happen in education.

Assuming that State Senator Stamm could develop a merit system based on this testing, then you have created another problem because if you have a star teacher and I am a parent and you do not assign my child to that star teacher, then I take you to court because of equal protection. Why should my child be denied the opportunity of that master teacher? How can you assign my child to a teacher who is not a master teacher?

The real big challenge of education, I think, is to prove that a socialized enterprise can be efficient, can be creative, and that we do not really reflect the dastardly forces of greed, competition and this kind of thing which we program into our children through the very things

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we do in the school. There must be a better way, because we see the products all around us of what happens as a result of this kind of system.

I draw this from my religious philosophy that says really you do not have to go around and judge people all the time. Why do we have to compare? Why do we have to make judgments? I think this is really un-Christian.

Then we get into the pragmatic, the compromise of the ideal with the practical. Well, I try to do this, too, but I try not to lose sight of where we are ultimately going in this business of education, and we cannot be schizophrenic about it. Otherwise, abolish the public school system and go to your voucher system that some people are suggesting where people have a choice.

Incidentally, this is what Christopher Jenks suggested after his appraisal. He said you have got a monopoly in the public schools and any monopoly does one of two things: It is either regulated or it perpetuates itself with a lot of bureaucracy. Well, the schools are not regulated so this has happened, and his solution was this very thing; and maybe this is what we need to do. I do not know. I am opposed to it because I think it is too important to leave to the private domain, and yet maybe the voucher system is the answer. Maybe performance contracting is the answer. If you buy this, then you have to go down this road, but I do not know what you do with the children in the process.

Voucher Systems

Senator Hart. If you could avoid the voucher system being used to short-circuit the 14th amendment in terms of desegregation, would you think it more desirable than the existing system?

Dr. Read. I personally do not, no; because it seems to me that the model is set in the schools and this is the real challenge with which school people have never wanted to grapple. They do not understand that this is a socialized enterprise and we have got to put aside some of the things that are traditionally the spur for better behavior, which is competition and incentive. If we have to accept this in the educational establishment as a means to improve performance, and this is the only way, then let's do something to escape the 14th amendment and go to voucher systems.

But if the school is to set a better pattern—and I do not know any other institution that has got that unique challenge in our society—then we had better go on about this business of literally forgetting about the false incentives and try to build something to show that in a cooperative enterprise you can achieve results and you can provide the kind of education where at the end of the experience the child says, "By golly, they did their best for me." That is where the real accountability is.

Senator Hart. One appeal of the voucher system goes to the point you just made—the unlikelihood of organized, tax-supported public schools, given the necessity of having in the classroom 20 children with varied aspirations and varied instincts and tendencies, to be able to reach and encourage the variety of tendencies that are represented there, because the curriculum is always going to be a blend.

But if you had vouchers, the child that really thought it was exciting to be a TV repairman could, after he got his reading, writing, and arithmetic, take that voucher and zero in on whatever you zero in on, to be a TV repairman; and the fellow who liked Latin could take it and find a pleasure that is denied most people. But you are never going to be able to reach that with this kind of composite that you say, nonetheless you——

Dr. Read. Of course you can. I think you teach what you are and if you are committed to this, you operate through example and precept. I have seen people who can do this, get this kind of blend, and with a group of children provide this kind of experience; and the thing that characterizes this kind of educational setting is trust and respect. That has to permeate it. You will be disappointed many times and people will disappoint you, but I would rather go this route than assume everybody is a rascal and we have to check up, to see if the child is learning what we think he should learn, if the teacher is teaching what we think he should, and if the administrator is administering what we thing he should administer. I may be a foolish dreamer in this respect, but I think it can be done.

What happens if the schools have isolation and operate on the basis of mistrust? Should we wonder why people operate in the adult society on the basis of these same concepts?

Senator Mondale. Thank you very much for this contribution today. We are most appreciative. May I say that we have had nearly a year and a half of solid testimony here, and it was a good thing to have the two of you side by side, because it helps point out this dispute, which is a real one, and I assume an unresolved one in the broad sense. We are most grateful to both of you.

The committee is in recess, to reconvene at 10 a.m., on Tuesday, in room 1114, of the New Senate Office Building.

(Whereupon, at 12:45 p.m., the Select Committee was recessed, to reconvene at 10 a.m., on November 2, 1971, in room 1114, of the New Senate Office Building.)

EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY IN MICHIGAN

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1971

U.S. SENATE,
SELECT COMMITTEE ON
EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY,
Washington, D.C.

The Select Committee met at 10:10 a.m., pursuant to call, in room 1114, of the New Senate Office Building, the Honorable Walter F. Mondale, chairman of the committee, presiding.

Present: Senators Mondale and Hart.

Staff members present: William C. Smith, staff director and general counsel; Donn Mitchell, professional staff; and Leonard Strickman, minority counsel.

Senator MONDALE. The committee will come to order.

This morning we have a panel representing the Michigan Education Association. Mr. John Ort is president, and Mr. Herman Coleman is associate executive director for minority affairs of the association.

We are very pleased to have you with us this morning. I have a copy of your statement. You may proceed as you wish.

STATEMENT OF JOHN ORT, PRESIDENT, MICHIGAN EDUCATION ASSOCIATION; ACCOMPANIED BY HERMAN COLEMAN, ASSOCIATE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY FOR MINORITY AFFAIRS

Mr. ORT. Good morning, Senator.

I am John Ort, president of the Michigan Education Association, representing some 78,000 teachers in the State of Michigan. My professional assignment is that of a counselor in the Livonia Public School System in Wayne County. I appreciate this opportunity to present to this committee the views of our organization on the problems of equal educational opportunity as they pertain to educational finance and desegregation.

On September 23, 1971, Mrs. Catharine Barrett, president-elect of the National Education Association, appeared before this committee.* Her testimony was based on a survey entitled "School Bond and Budget on Tax Referenda," which indicated the growing resistance of local taxpapers to pay the increasing costs of public education.

SCHOOLS FACE FINANCIAL PROBLEMS

Mrs. Barrett cited a second survey conducted by the NEA entitled "Teacher Supply and Demand," which showed that for the first time since World War II we have enough teachers to supply adequate educational services. At the same time the majority of school systems

*See Part 16A, Inequality in School Finance.

responding to the NEA survey reported some type of reduction in program because of financial limitations. School districts in Michigan are facing serious financial problems as noted by Mrs. Barrett.

Mrs. Barrett also made clear that teachers' salaries have indeed gone up . . . but at a pace which is just behind, and not ahead of, other professional workers, both men and women.

It appears to the MEA that we are at a point in time where:

The demands on the school system in terms of tasks that it is expected to perform are steadily increasing.

The Nation has produced for the first time in our history an adequate pool of trained man and woman power to meet these needs.

I happen to have been a high school counselor, a "sputnik," under the National Defense Education Act, and I find increasingly, as young people come to me seeking guidance in terms of a particular vocational choice, great concern with the fact that many of their friends are unable to find employment in the teaching profession. These are usually, very often, very talented young people, and it seems rather incongruent to me that the National Defense Education Act continues to put some $1,000 per school year into a particular individual's education and we have 103,000 college of education graduates this year who were unable to find employment.

Senator MONDALE. We have a bill in conference now, which I introduced, called the Comprehensive Child Development Act, which would try, for the first time, to encourage a national program to help children in the first 5 years of life, with comprehensive day care centers, with educational components as well. That bill is in trouble, not because it did not pass the Congress, but because the President says it is going to cost too much. Two billion dollars, that is the authority in our bill. He estimates it would cost $16 billion to help these children have a chance, which is equivalent to what we are spending to support the war today.

My point is: If we have a decent program to meet the needs of children, we would actually have a shortage of teachers, would we not?

Mr. ORT. That is right.

Senator MONDALE. This morning, there is a report of the President's School Finance Commission, a commission which I believe resulted from a bill I introduced, and they call for $22 billion Federal expenditure to assist local schools, and, among other things, come out strongly for helping children in the first years, ages 3 and 4.

In other words, when you deal with disadvantaged children, reach down earlier to help during this period. And, if you add 2 years to the Nation's educational services, we are just not going to have enough teachers, are we?

So that—we are in a position here now—that we should look upon the availability of skilled teachers as a one-time magnificent opportunity rather than cursing it and putting these teachers out in the unemployment line.

Mr. ORT. My only response, sir; would be, "Right on."

Senator MONDALE. Right on.

Mr. ORT. The basis of support, however, is deteriorating.

Michigan teachers are keenly aware that our public school system has a nation-building function.

Four National Needs

Four national needs are basic to our survival:

1. There is the need to have literate citizens because our democratic institutions are based on the idea that power should ultimately rest with the people.
2. There is the need to have a skilled citizenry to be able to fulfill the many tasks in a complex modern society.
3. There is a need to perpetuate social mobility in order to prevent the emergence of a rigid class system that would perpetuate social inequality forever.
4. There is the need for national unity since, in the words of Abraham Lincoln, "A house divided against itself cannot stand."

Let's look at some of the changing demands on our schools.

As the schools are swept up in the currents of social change, two factors are becoming more clear to teachers:

On the one hand, the function of the school seems to be changing. The American school is no longer just an institution for learning, but it is becoming an instrument for the amelioration of social ills. Large numbers of disadvantaged citizens look at the schools as the major route by which suppressed minorities can reverse the evils of the past in one generation.

On the other hand, we find that the judicial branch of the Government has taken the lead in combating separatism in our Nation and the schools have become the inevitable battleground. Unfortunately, the fight against segregation has not been pressed with equal vigor by the legislative and executive branches of our State and national governments.

In these days of uncertainty, doubt, and deepening national crisis, the teachers in our State would like to share with you some of their thoughts on the problems of equal educational opportunity along with some recommendations of how we can move together to implement this ideal.

Problems facing Michigan educators in the decade ahead are many and complex. Racial unrest, violence, and unemployment among the young have their roots in the inadequacies of our educational system. Three problems, however, are of major proportions.

First, there is the lack of sufficient funds to carry on the changing mission of our schools. Mrs. Barrett pointed out in her testimony that the dimensions of this problem are not confined to State boundaries, but are nationwide in extent. A shortage of funds affects especially the urban school systems, and, therefore, contributes to inequality in educational opportunity.

The second problem arises out of the segregation of our population along racial and economic lines. Boundaries of local school districts have emerged as a result of complex socioeconomic developments. There is little doubt that racial isolation has been enhanced by the tendency to concentrate along lines of similar heritage, values, and economic capability. The combined result of these factors has led to the socially disfunctional consequence of geographic isolation of one group

from another. Again, this contributes to lack of educational equality.

The third problem, undoubtedly related to the first two, is the disparity of opportunity caused by the program of the school itself. Those of us who work in the urban schools of our State are convinced that we must address ourselves to the improvement of the quality of the school program for urban youngsters.

Key to the Solution

The key to the solution of these problems is linked, as we see it, to our belief in the viability of our Federal system. We believe that the most important aspect of our Federal system is the sharing of functions between the local, State and national levels of government. We would oppose all remedies which would weaken the delicate balance of power exhibited between these three points of entry to the democratic decisionmaking process.

Therefore, we wish to reemphasize our belief that an important part of the control of our schools must be exercised on the local level. The United States is a large country comprising areas diverse in physical and economic conditions as well as in tradition, and decentralization affords some degree of consumer choice in educational services.

The point here is, I think, the term "decentralization" might be confusing to the committee, in that we very well do advocate the possibility of redrawing district boundaries, the decentralization aspect being if we do have a racially balanced school district, the opportunity to have different kinds of programs, because of local control, would be an advantage to the populace.

The need for continuous experimentation in education is best fulfilled on the basis of local initiative. Innovations have a greater chance for success if they are implemented by people who have had a chance in their development and are committed to the idea. Furthermore, local patrons must be confronted with their responsibility for the education of their children directly. This protects the young from indoctrination with values repugnant to their parents.

State governments, on the other hand, have three important functions: (1) To enhance the power of local decisionmaking; (2) to redraw the boundaries of local school districts in order to maximize interracial and intercultural diversity; and (3) the most important obligation of our State government is to delineate a system of educational finance that equalizes the ability of these new districts to provide educational services for their children.

Among the States, Michigan enjoys a relatively high income per child. Our State and local governments collected $428.26 per capita in taxes in 1969, which places Michigan seventh in a ranking of States. A little more than half of all State and local revenues are used for the public schools in Michigan. About 28 percent of Michigan's population was of school age (5–17 years) in 1970.

Equalization

An antiquated system of equalization, however, places a heavy burden on local taxpayers. The involvement of our State government

reached its peak in 1966–67 when the State's contribution reached 44.7 percent. By 1969–70 contributions of the State had declined to 40.5 percent. Similar development was observed in Federal contributions which reached a peak of 5.3 percent in 1966–67, but receded to 3.8 percent in 1969–70. Thus, the heaviest burden is on local resources, which must contribute 55.5 percent of all resources.

Inequity is the standard rather than the exception. There are extreme variations in local funding. In 1969–70 one Detroit metropolitan area school district with more than 21,000 students spent $1,240 per pupil. Another school district in the same general area with more than 20,000 students spent only $744 per pupil. It is impossible to justify such large variations in local expenditures.

The primary Federal responsibility in our view is to help equalize the ability of our States to support a free public school system K through 14. It is only through an assumption of greater Federal responsibility that we will be able to provide a national balance which provides a minimum program of educational opportunity for every American child. We are not opposed to the exercise of proper regulatory powers by the Federal Government designed to assure that States as well as localities discharge their respective obligations. As a matter of fact, we cry for those regulations. This can best be done through large general grants to those States which accept the responsibilities outlined above.

Must Change To Improve Quality

The desegregation of schools does not in and by itself produce an integrated society nor does the equalization of the financial burden realize the ideal of equality of educational opportunity. In fact, the realization of this American dream is in danger as long as there are boys and girls who are not able to identify with this national promise. Our school programs must promote a positive self concept for each child emphasizing the dignity and the worth of individuals who happen to be different from the majority culture. We must promote changes which improve the quality of the school program.

First, ethnic and cultural diversity must be recognized in all curriculum content. The school program must make the school the center for multicultural contact and experience. While the implementation of this goal is primarily a local responsibility it is a function of the State government to meet the large preservice and inservice requirements of the educational personnel.

Preservice education of teachers must give more attention to multiethnic studies, and no teacher should be certified in any of the United States unless he can provide evidence that he has a thorough understanding of the diverse cultural contributions of all people who make up our society. Any applicant for certification in the State should be able to demonstrate:

(1) An understanding of the life styles of various racial, cultural, and economic groups in our society; (2) an understanding of the contributions of minority groups to the cultural and economic well-being of our society; (3) a knowledge of the psychological principles, methods, and techniques designed to counteract dehumanizing biases, discriminatory practices, and prejudicial behavior in the classroom; (4)

knowledge of the constitutional base and legal implementation of personal and civil rights, especially as they apply to students.

There is an urgent need for nationwide, State-coordinated inservice training for our teachers. Each State must mount an effort to help our current teaching force to cooperate with the increasing public demand for higher performance standards, especially in the area of human relations and cultural diversity.

The responsibility of the Federal Government in this area should be primarily directed toward the establishment of a national office of pure and applied research in education. The whole area of educational research should be centralized for the sake of efficiency. We are beyond the point where a few precious research dollars in education can be squandered on topics which may only be of passing interest. Educational research must help us to solve the major educational problems of our day. We believe that the Federal effort which has worked so well for "atomic power" and "moon power" can also work for "education power."

In summary, we have reaffirmed our strong belief in a federal system which is based on a sharing of functions between local, State, and national governmental units.

We have pointed toward racial isolation, insufficient funds, and the inequalities of the distribution of funds to point to a picture of disparate opportunity for our children.

We have outlined a set of local, State, and Federal responsibilities which we believe would contribute to the implementation of the American dream of equal educational opportunity for each American child.

On behalf of the Michigan Education Association, thank you for the opportunity to present this testimony.

Senator MONDALE. Mr. Coleman, did you have a comment?

Mr. COLEMAN. I have no comments. I will attempt to address myself to questions that you address to either of us.

PER PUPIL EXPENDITURE

Senator MONDALE. You point out that there is one school district, I assume, suburban Detroit, which spends $1,240 per pupil per year, and another school district in the same area, which, I assume, is central city Detroit, which expends $744 per pupil. That works out to roughly $500 difference per pupil per year—$496, to be exact.

If you take a class size of 20——

Mr. ORT. That is hard to find.

Senator MONDALE. That is small. What would be the average class size? Twenty-five?

Mr. ORT. I would say across the State it would run 25 to 30.

Senator MONDALE. Let us say 20, to have the extreme case, the conservative case. Each year there will be $10,000 more spent in the $1,200 a year classroom than in the $750 a year classroom, a $10,000 a year per class difference in public expenditure; is that correct?

Mr. ORT. Yes.

Senator MONDALE. And in the course of 12 years, one through 12—and, once again, it is conservative because often you have kindergarten and so on—the children in the one classroom will have received an investment $120,000 greater during the course of a 12-year education than the others; is that correct?

Mr. ORT. Exactly.

Senator MONDALE. But the differences do not end there, do they?

Mr. ORT. No, they do not.

Senator MONDALE. Because if it is a poor, black, ghetto classroom there are many other differences, many of which are difficult to quantify, which amount probably to as much as the financial input by way of disadvantage.

As you know, there has been a study of the Detroit schools or the Michigan school system provided by the Urban Coalition which tried, among other things, to determine the value of the middle-class college-educated mother. That must be worth an awful lot to the education of a child. And this does not show up in the financial figures. Let us see if we can find that information—while we are talking.

My point is: I think if someone did a reasonable cost analysis, you would find that the poor child in the ghetto is in a classroom in which $120,000 a year less is spent than the rich district; but, by the time you figure in the difference in help at home, it could well be $200,000 or more.

Mr. ORT. I really have to think that the progression would be geometric. I see the disparity in just the attitudes.

CHILDREN'S ATTITUDES DIFFER

I happen to teach in a suburban white ghetto, and I see the difference in the children that come to me in a counseling situation in terms of their attitude toward the school, where, relatively speaking, the support is high.

Senator MONDALE. You teach in the Detroit school system?

Mr. ORT. No; I am a high school counselor in Livonia, a community of 41 square miles, with 38,000 children, just 22 miles from the city hall in Detroit.

Senator MONDALE. It is poor white?

Mr. ORT. No, sir. It is lower-middle-class, middle-class, upper-middle-class. And I happen to teach in a high school building that is the entry into the community.

Senator MONDALE. Where do these children's families come from?

Mr. ORT. It has been a long time developing. Over the past 20 years, it has grown from 18,000 to 100,000, and much of the development there is from management from Ford Motor Co., General Motors, and so forth. And we have a very limited number of children of blue-collar workers.

Senator MONDALE. Do you happen to know what the per pupil expenditure is?

Mr. ORT. I would have to estimate, but I would say somewhere over $800—probably between $800 and $900 per child. Thirty-two million dollars for 38,000 children. You can work with that.

Senator MONDALE. Do you see a difference in the expectations and self-esteem and the rest from poor families as against the others?

Mr. ORT. Yes; it is marked. You can see it. Even though, in effect, you look at one child and at another child, and they dress similarly, they behave similarly, but their attitude toward education is definitely affected. I am certain of that.

Senator MONDALE. Some of it is at least traceable to the home and the influence and help they get there?

Home Influence Important

Mr. Ort. I think so. The child that is not exposed to much in the way of reading materials, for instance, and there does not seem to be much reading going on in the home—the child does not read. At least, he does not come to it quite as quickly as those children being read to at home and who have much in the way of reading material available to them.

Senator Mondale. We were pointing out, Senator Hart, if you take the central city school system, I think it is $744 per pupil per year compared to $1,240 in one of the wealthy white suburbs, that works out to a difference of $10,000 a year in financial input in a class of 20, and $120,000 during the course of the 12-year education in investment in a single classroom.

But that is not all, because of the value of support at home—home education—which I think is a key element.

There was a study made on the value of a mother's educational services, and let's see—they estimated that a college educated mother will have provided $17,000 in educational services. In other words, what it would cost to buy what she contributes to a child by the end of college. And $13,000 if you were to buy what she is providing by the end of high school. So you can add $120,000 plus—let's see——

They estimate that the value of a mother's educational service from 0 through 7 is $4,900. So there is a difference there of about $7,000 in educational services. So that there is a big difference in the kind of help they get at home.

Mr. Ort. Senator, I believe that Mr. Coleman might very well be able to shed some light in this area. Herman has worked extensively with urban children, and he has a background in a Federal project in Muskegon, Mich., and the urban education project in New York, in Rochester, dealing specifically with curriculum content and trying to help with the urban minority youngsters.

Senator Mondale. Would you care to comment?

Impact of Racial Isolation

Mr. Coleman. I think one of the limitations we often overlook as it relates to the education of suburban youth is the impact of racial isolation on equality of opportunity for white children. And there is a gross disparity there.

I think one of the other major limitations of the urban school is the ill preparation of teachers as it relates to the enhancement of equal educational opportunity.

Public education, by and large, exists on the thesis that boys and girls come to us with certain kinds of skills. Those who do not come to us with those skills that would result from the exposure to a family who has a kind of background that you have just alluded to, Senator, have a tremendous difference. And I think it is tragic that in 1971 that in public education in this Nation that we do not have one institution of higher education that does an adequate job of training teachers to teach those who are less than middle class.

And I think we will make some erroneous assumptions relative to the impact that finances alone can make on the improvement of quality

of education unless we take a look at teacher preparation and inservice education needs in urban and suburban school districts.

Senator MONDALE. Senator Hart?

Senator HART. I had hoped, Mr. Chairman, to be here to welcome Mr. Ort and Mr. Coleman, and I apologize. I was trapped by the phone.

Mr. ORT. It is our real pleasure to see you, sir.

Senator HART. I wanted to explain to Senator Mondale that my understanding of the problems of public education has been assisted enormously by visits I have had with Mr. Ort and associates of his in the Michigan Education Association.

I think for those of us outside the business of education, the more we seek to understand it, the more we search for answers, the more we understand the complexity of the problem. This in no way diminishes its urgency, and I am sure the counsel he has given this committee will be useful to the committee, just as this counsel and the MEA's counsel has been helpful to me over the years.

MINORITY AFFAIRS

Mr. ORT. Our organization is making a meager effort, but, I think, a significant effort in the area of minority affairs. Mr. Coleman now has a staff of three full-time associates that are trying to deal specifically with what happens in the curriculum, and particularly in our urban schools. And he is anxiously awaiting what he thinks is going to be a breakthrough with some of the agencies he is dealing with at the present time.

Senator HART. Do they relate to existing Federal programs?

Mr. COLEMAN. Yes. But I am more concerned with what traditionally happens in public education. I am very much concerned about utilization of Federal resources as it relates to equality of opportunity.

But, beyond that, we must begin to examine the kinds of things that classroom teachers need, the kinds of skills classroom teachers need if we are going to approach the elimination of racism, racial isolation, and the gross disparity that exists between the opportunities for urban youth versus those opportunities that are available for white youth.

I think we are witnessing the fear, much of the fear that has resulted from the perpetuation of the "rightness of whiteness" in public education.

I am sure you are as knowledgeable as we are about the grave concern that presently exists in Michigan around the question of desegregation, and I do not hear enough people saying—interpreting what that means to white America.

I perceive that perhaps the most disadvantaged child in public education today is the racially isolated white child, the racially isolated school curriculum. We have a public school program that says those who are less than white are less than equal.

CONTRIBUTIONS OF MINORITIES

In the State of Michigan, for example, in 1966, the legislature passed a Social Studies Act which mandates that all school curriculums must include the positive contributions of the ethnic minorities to the history, growth, and development of this Nation.

But the followup study done by the State Department, which was also a part of that act, found that there has been no significant change in the incorporation of the contributions of ethnic minorities to the history, growth, and development of this Nation as a result of the Social Studies Act of 1966.

I think we made an erroneous assumption when we assumed teachers are going to acquire the skills through osmosis.

Senator HART. More specifically, and I relate it to Michigan, since the enactment of the 1966—did you say it was 1966?

Mr. COLEMAN. Yes.

Senator HART. That act that requires—how did you put it?—that a balanced presentation of the contributions of minorities be presented in the school system?

Mr. COLEMAN. Right. That this would be included in the social studies curriculums of all Michigan public schools.

Senator HART. Now, with greater particularity than your general comment, what in total has been done in the 5 years intervening to present in social studies classes and contributions of minorities?

Mr. COLEMAN. There presently exists open dialog between the State superintendent and the publishing houses relative to some reforms in the kind of resources that they disseminate to public schools.

Senator HART. Does that mean in the 5 years there has not been any change in the texts in those classes?

Mr. COLEMAN. No significant change.

Mr. ORT. It would take at least 100 years.

Senator HART. If there had been improvement, we would have introduced it within 5 years into our textbooks?

Mr. COLEMAN. I would agree.

Senator HART. So it is not an impossible assignment.

What else has not been done?

Mr. COLEMAN. There is no emphasis on cultural diversity in the academic preparation of teachers who enter the profession.

Senator HART. You mean, specifically, I am a white man and I want to be a teacher, and I need training as to how to—what? Understand the black student? Or have him understand me? Or both?

Mr. COLEMAN. Both. I think there is a need for classroom teachers to be able to relate positively to the significant kinds of contributions that minorities have made.

I think it is equally as important for the black child and equally as important for the white child.

In my travels around the State talking to students and teachers, there is great discomfort with the thought that they must be able to provide a service of this quality when their exposure has only been through extra resources that comes either from the library or supplements from publishing companies, this kind of thing.

TEACHERS MUST RELATE

I support the notion of ethnic studies, but I think that has gross limitations, too, because it affords an opportunity for classroom teachers to cop out. It limits the ability for teachers to deal with the contributions of ethnic minorities within the climate of the times, within the context of American history, for example.

I talked to a young man in one school district where an ethnic studies program, a black studies program, does exist, for example, and the topic of discussion was the Civil War. And he asked a question that dealt with the involvement of blacks in the Civil War, and that teacher was unable to answer the question. And the answer given to the child was, "Well, we do not deal with that in this class. You have to go down the hall to black history in order to acquire that kind of knowledge."

Senator HART. That suggests that at least in the 5 years, there has been organized curricula change.

Mr. COLEMAN. But it has not been approached at the level of sophistication necessary for it to be meaningful.

I think, by an large, we have substituted black nonsense for white nonsense.

Mr. ORT. I think a change in the curriculum in most of the schools I am familiar with, where black studies, Afro-American studies, what have you, exist, is a result of a blazing liberal teacher who has managed to generate enough enthusiasm among his students to go to the local board of education and demand that there be that kind of input and curriculum.

Specifically, we have a minority course in the high school I teach in, but the curriculum was developed by students from three high schools in our district, and they went to the board of education and presented their concern.

Senator HART. This was done by students?

Mr. ORT. Yes, students. Three blazing liberal white teachers were involved also. But it was students.

It was a matter of some young teachers who had a belief there is a need for a change in what happens in the schools, generating enough enthusiasm among high school students to go after such a change, and it is coming from the bottom up rather than the top down. Maybe it is not a bad way to develop curriculum, because it may be more entirely relevant to the children involved. But it is not a normal process.

Senator HART. It is the sort of thing I assume was intended to be achieved by the 1966 Michigan legislative act, is that correct?

Mr. COLEMAN. That is only part of it. The legislative act of 1966 said that in the traditional social studies curricula, that the contributions of ethnic minorities must be incorporated within its content. And that to me is slightly different from ethnic studies, black studies program, a Chicano or Indian studies program. And I think that one of the reasons why we have had very little improvement in this regard is that we have assumed that those resources that are available—and we have many resources available in libraries and the universities that are available for dissemination to school districts—is that teachers have not acquired the skills necessary to do that. And that is one of the reasons why I see a tremendous need for more thrust on inservice education.

CULTURAL DIVERSITY COURSES

We have some school districts who have written into their master agreements with boards of education that courses that incorporate cultural diversity will be made available to them as a part of inservice education in their local school districts. In many cases, they are having

cooperative ventures with higher education where teachers receive graduate credit for those kinds of inservice programs.

Mr. ORT. I think that an analogy that might be cogent, Senator, would be that in those institutions that are currently practicing fair employment, it is quite often the case that you go into an office and you find the one black that they happen to have on their staff happens to be by the front door. And in the high schools we still have white and black history. And, since it happened at the same time, it might be well to present it together. I think that is really the cry that Herman is putting on, that we really should teach history in its context, including all minorities that really were responsible for the greatness of this Nation.

Senator HART. The Civil War includes everybody that engaged in it.

Mr. COLEMAN. Right.

Senator HART. Are you in any position—and I know all of us would understand if you would indicate that you do not have the basis on which to answer the question—but are you in a position to comment or make the comparison between the performance in this area, namely, including in the classroom intelligent explanation and discussion of the contributions that minorities have made to the country, between the public school and the private school?

Mr. COLEMAN. I cannot give an intelligent answer. I just do not have any data to support what is happening in private schools.

Senator HART. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator MONDALE. I have no further questions. I am very grateful to you for your contribution. As always, the Education Association is doing great work, and we are most grateful to you.

Senator HART. May I put on the record what I told them on the occasion of our very last visit?

Senator MONDALE. Certainly.

Senator HART. The thanks of at least future generations I think will be unanimous. Contemporarily, there is a great division, but let me thank you and the leaders of the Michigan Education Association for your very courageous and I think very sensible reminder—if I could paraphrase it——

What we are talking about are public schools, and public schools operate within the limit of the 14th amendment, in that those things which the courts tell us are required in order to deliver the promise of the 14th amendment, should find the willing support from parents, and teachers, and students.

Mr. ORT. Yes, sir.

Senator HART. It is not an easy message, I know.

Mr. ORT. Not at all.

Senator HART. But it is a very basic one.

Mr. ORT. Our teachers in Michigan are beginning to come around.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you very much.

The committee is in recess, to reconvene at 10 a.m. on November 3, in room 1114 of the New Senate Office Building.

(Whereupon, at 10:55 a.m., the Select Committee was recessed, to reconvene at 10 a.m. on November 3, 1971, in room 1114 of the New Senate Office Building.)

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